

Labor Age

JULY, 1932' 15 CENTS

The W. Va. Hunger March

TOM TIPPETT

The B. E. F. Digs In

A BONUS MARCHER

Stampede To Fascism

A. J. MUSTE

Masks and Footprints

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Whither Bound Chile?

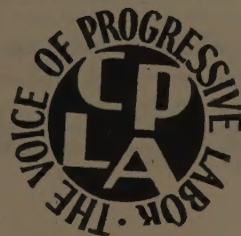
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"The whole world knows that Japan's present position in China is . . . like that of a burglar who has been caught in the home of his murdered victim, and pleads that he killed the owner of the house merely in self-defense," declares Lowe Chuan-Hua, editor of the symposium on

JAPAN'S UNDECLARED WAR IN SHANGHAI

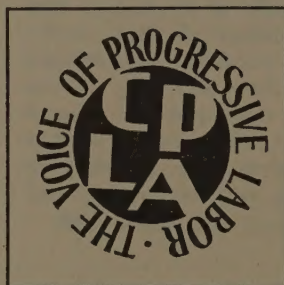
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CPLA Convention Call

To Branches of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and other Groups in General Agreement with the Aims of the Convention:

The first official convention of the CPLA will be held Labor Day Week-end, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, September 3, 4 and 5, 1932, in New York City.

SINCE it was founded in the summer of 1929 the CPLA has operated on a provisional basis. In the course of our experience our position has been clarified. Our work in the unions and among unorganized workers has greatly increased. Activity for a unified mass labor party has been intensified. Membership has grown. Many new branches have been formed. These developments within the organization point to the necessity of placing it upon a permanent basis.

Moreover, the crisis through which American labor is passing demands without delay that all sincere elements unite and organize all their resources into an effective fighting force.

In this, the richest nation on earth, bitter suffering prevails among the masses in the cities and on the farms. Wages are being slashed to the bone. Hard-won conditions of work are taken away. Twelve million or more are unemployed. Farmers are having their lands sold for taxes. Families are evicted from their homes. Relief is tragically inadequate.

When the masses refuse to submit without a protest to such suffering, they are ruthlessly terrorized. Protest is stifled swiftly. Special and damnable discriminations are practised against Negroes, the foreign-born and other groups. Injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, thugs and the violence of officers of the law are used to break up every attempt of workers or farmers to organize, every strike, every demonstration of the masses to voice their grievances and demand redress.

Thus the leaders of finance, industry and politics are carrying through a concerted drive to drug the minds of the masses and to rob them of every ounce of independence and self-respect. The result will be, they hope, that if the shaky structure of capitalist economy and sham democracy falls to pieces, the masses will submit quietly to an undisguised capitalist dictatorship. Already the reactionaries are openly crying out for such Fascism.

Economic conditions may become even worse as time goes on, or the powers that be may produce an artificially stimulated "recovery," which under the capitalist system cannot be either general or permanent. In the former case we shall witness activity on the part of the masses driven to desperation by ever worsening conditions, in the latter they will take advantage of any slight improvement to recover their losses. In either case, the battle will be on and the American labor movement will face the greatest opportunity and the most serious challenge in all its history. The way in which that challenge is met in the period just

ahead will probably determine whether eventually Fascism or labor will rule the destinies of this nation.

In the face of this challenge, the American labor movement is more confused and weaker than ever. The trade union movement includes only a small percentage of the workers. For the most part it is beating a retreat and the leadership still supinely if not willingly follows the lead of big business, the bankers and the politicians of the old parties. It looks for favors rather than being bent on building up labor's own power. There is a stirring of new life, however, in the ranks of labor. Recent CPLA activities within the unions have clearly shown that thousands of unionists are now ready to welcome inspiration and guidance in the battle for clean, militant, effective unionism.

In the face of unparalleled opportunity and challenge the various political and theoretical organizations and groups have failed. They have not united existing organizations nor fired the imagination of the unorganized masses for the battle to build a powerful front against capitalist forces. The criticisms levelled by the more vigorous elements in these parties and groups against their present policies and leadership, are themselves proof that none of them, at least, as now led and constituted, is an effective and satisfactory vanguard for American labor, an inspiring rallying center for responsible militant workers.

The aims of the CPLA are the aims for which American labor must and will strive—the abolition of capitalism with its war of classes, its monstrous inequalities, its unemployment, its inability in the very midst of abundance to give the masses even the necessities of life; the establishment of a workers' republic and of a planned economic system operated in the interest of the masses and not of the few, thus making genuine freedom and peace possible.

The strategy of the CPLA—building up the organized power of the working class in the United States, facing the realities of the American scene, encouraging realistic use of whatever means may be necessary to achieve the emancipation of labor, insisting that American labor, while developing according to its own genius and the conditions which it confronts, shall join in the defense of Soviet Russia against all capitalist and imperialist attacks and in the building of a world-wide solidarity of labor—this strategy is distinctive, sound and effective.

Wherever the tactics of the CPLA—emphasis upon economic organization and the struggle of the workers, employed and unemployed, on the industrial field; recognition of the fact that no genuine and effective working-class party can be built save on economic organizations and in close touch with the industrial struggle; building up rank and file oppositions in the unions against bureaucracy and corruption where they may exist and working to commit the unions to militant and progressive policies all along the line, while avoiding disruptive tactics or a dual-union policy which isolates militants from the workers; building a unified mass party of workers and farmers in which all who are sincerely interested in broad, effective labor political action may join; the call for the united front of all elements

in the daily struggle of the workers against the boss—wherever these tactics have been explained to the workers, they have met with enthusiastic response. Wherever they have been tried, whether in existing unions or among the unorganized in West Virginia mine fields, among Southern textile workers and farmers, among food workers and in the public utilities, in New England textile mills, in the steel centers of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and among the unemployed of Seattle and West Virginia, they have produced results.

Without delay we must place behind the CLPA and its program the force of a strong, compact and devoted membership. Therefore the call for the first official convention is now issued.

"The convention will adopt a permanent name and a constitution for this organization of militants.

It will determine policies and map out programs for industrial organization in the basic industries, progressive activities in the unions, work among the unemployed, the building of a mass labor party, agitation for unity in the American labor movement, and for building up the CPLA itself as a rallying center for militants who desire to serve in an effective vanguard for American labor.

Unions and other working-class organizations or groups in which CPLA activity is being carried on or which are sympathetically interested in our aims are invited to send fraternal delegates to assist in the deliberation of the convention.

Existing political or propagandist groups which are in agreement with CPLA aims and methods are invited to correspond with the N.E.C. in regard to attendance and representation at the convention.

The present situation in the world, and particularly in the United States, presents to American militants a mighty challenge. We must answer that challenge. Delay is dangerous and is treason to the working-class. We can and will answer the challenge.

Let all members, branches of the CPLA and groups begin active preparation at once to make the Labor Day Convention a land-mark in American labor history, a warning to the forces of reaction and Fascism in the United States, an inspiration to the workers!

**FOR THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE
FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION**

A. J. Muste, Chairman.

Louis F. Budenz, Executive Secretary.

Send all communications or inquiries to National Executive Committee, C.P.L.A., 128 East 16th Street, New York City.



AMERICA'S Declaration of Independence states the case. A people will endure wrongs for a long time before moving for profound change.

The Jobless Worker Stirs Our own day and age is little different from others on that score. The millions of jobless workers looked first for the return of "Prosperity." When it was not found around the corner, they yielded to a confused silence. Their gods had deserted them; no others were clearly at hand. The bedlam of voices from the radical camps was not reassuring.

But now, with a sullen, threatening winter before them, they have begun to stir. We noted the breaking of the great silence in our last issue. More of that sort of thing is going forward.

Under the leadership of Frank Keeney, the West Virginia miners descended upon Charlestown. Their wives

and children came with them. They were pledged to stay until they secured some relief. And in spite of threats and intimidation by the authorities they received it. The story of that expedition, told in this issue, gives a cue to what can be done in other commonwealths and by other workers.

In the South, the farmers as well as the workers have awakened. Their organized action in North Carolina, recited also in these pages, is a harbinger of bigger events below the Mason and Dixon line. The spirit of the Marion martyrs of 1929 marches on in their own town and country.

In Allentown, Philadelphia and Paterson unemployed citizens leagues have been formed, developing self-help and demands for governmental relief. In Indiana a like movement is on foot. In a house-to-house survey of four blocks in the workers' district in Paterson, it was found that two-thirds of the residents were jobless, and eager for an unemployed organization and for real leadership.

Meanwhile, the bonus army remains encamped in Washington. Thousands of ragged men give ironic challenge to the great monuments and magnificent buildings of the far-spreading capitol. They march by the luxurious headquarters of the National Red Cross, that much-touted plaything of the rich, now proved to be morally bankrupt. They are a symbol of coming events.

A consciousness has begun to come to the jobless worker that he must act for himself. He cannot rely on Mellon-Morgan leadership, hitherto so deeply worshipped, nor on the palaver of politicians. Unheeded by a criminally callous administration, he will be compelled to do something.

The Winter of 1932-33 is pregnant with protest and revolt.



RECENT elections in a number of unions indicate that unrest with conservative and corrupt business unionism is developing as conditions in industry grow worse. These

**Ferment in the
Labor Movement**

developments indicate further that, with the collapse of so-called "American prosperity," and with the deepening of the present depression, the basis for business union is being wiped out, and the masses of the workers, even in the so-called conservative unions, are being compelled to face the facts and demand militant trade union policies. These facts give promise and evidence of the revival of the left wing in the American labor movement.

In Electrical Workers Local 3, long a stronghold of the dictatorial and corrupt Broach machine, the New Deal Group of insurgents polled 1,752 votes for John J. Sullivan for president against 1,895 votes for Frank Wilson, representing the administration. John Costello, New Deal candidate for vice president, registered 1,546 votes against 1,940 for Reuter, for the administration. William A. Hogan, International Treasurer, and right hand man of Broach, was defeated for the post of Financial Secretary by David G. O'Hara of the New Deal Group, by 2,107 votes against 1,907.

A strong protest vote was registered in the election for the District Council, and a number of anti-administration Business Agents were elected to office.

In the Sheet Metal Workers Union, John Reul, for 18 years the president of the local, was snowed under by Charles A. Maddock, the candidate of the "Local Autonomy Group." The administration was overwhelmingly defeated in the elections of 24 officers of the Local, business agents and members of the executive board. This is the local in which it will be remembered that insurgents were threatened with investigation by "Deportation" Doak.

A number of upsets of administration figures occurred in the various carpenters' locals.

It must be remembered that these results took place frequently in the face of the most brazen fraud, open intimidation and attempts to confuse the issues. They indicate that the thin edge of the wedge has been firmly set for cleaning out of the American labor movement the present, stagnant, cancerous growth which calls itself the leadership of the A. F. of L.

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DOUBTING Thomases there were a-plenty. Their defeatist voices said that nothing could be done. The Philadelphia branch of the CPLA and Louis F. Budenz had another idea.

First Blood At the Apex

They tackled the problem of arousing the non-union workers in the big Apex Hosiery Mill. A sweeping injunction, obtained in 1931, prevents all union activity around or near or in connection with that plant. The voices of defeat said that any effort of any kind there would be expensive and dangerous.

On June 17, the police arrested Budenz for attempting to speak before the Apex mill. The arrest was preceded by much correspondence and an interview with Director of Public Safety Kern Dodge. That gentleman admitted to a committee of the CPLA members—Edmund Ryan, Jr., Albert Ryan and John Fitzgerald—that his sole reason for threatening to halt the meeting was that the mill should not be interfered with.

These are unusual times, said Mr. Dodge, and call for unusual measures. Any company that is giving employment to men is doing a public service, he averred, and deserves public commendation and the right to be left alone.

Hailed into the court of Magistrate Atkinson Costello, Budenz was fined ten dollars and costs (or ten days in jail) for "disorderly conduct in speaking without a permit." Through his attorney, M. H. Goldstein, he appealed.

Now, as we go to press, word comes from Philadelphia that the magistrate's decision has been reversed, and the penalty erased. With Judge William McConnell sitting on the bench in Quarter Sessions Court, the District Attorney himself withdrew the charges after the prosecuting witnesses had been heard. The grounds for this action were that no case had been made, as an ordinance does not exist in Philadelphia requiring permits and there had been no disorder.

This first blood drawn at the Apex is decidedly encouraging. Organization campaigns are long, hard battles. The company involved in this instance is the head and front of the anti-union movement in the hosiery industry. Its president, William Myers, is president of the anti-union hosiery manufacturers. The CPLA feels that the victory gained is an incentive to further aggressive action in the Apex campaign. It is also some indication of steps that unions can still take!

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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY confers the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature upon Norman Thomas, Socialist party candidate for President, and the "honor" is accepted. It is safe to say that in no other country in the world could it happen that one of its most conservative, high brow and snobbish universities would single out for honor

Honor Or Insult

the candidate of a party which is supposedly committed to the complete abolition of the economic order and the system of values of which that university is a prominent and no-

torious defender. Presumably this is fresh proof of the "fact" that there "are no classes" in the United States.

The incident is in a sense a small one and perhaps even personal. There are certain happenings, however, which are symptoms and symbols, and thus have an importance far beyond that which appears on the surface. This is one of them.

Something has happened to Princeton but it is not really going Socialist. Something has happened to the S. P. too. The granting of this degree to Norman Thomas just on the eve of the Presidential campaign can only mean that the highly capitalistic faculty and trustees of that bulwark of the status quo have no fear that the Socialist Party is going to threaten seriously the things for which they stand. Or if they do have any lingering fears, they have decided that the best way to make labor's political leaders harmless is the same that has so often been used on trade union leaders, shop committee members, etc., viz., pat them on the back, tell them they are good fellows, make them feel that the bosses are broadminded and decent chaps after all.

An honorary degree from Princeton may win the Socialist candidate some votes from timorous middle-class people whose standards are set by our American universities. No worth-while labor or Socialist party was ever built on such votes. From the standpoint of the workers and in view of fundamental social issues, acceptance of the degree is a sad and momentous mistake. To illustrate the confusion which arises, Norman Thomas accepts an "honor" from Princeton at the same time with General John L. Dewitt, quartermaster general of the U. S. Army. While this is taking place, several hundred students of the University of Pittsburgh, including some of Thomas's own Socialist followers, are engaged in making a protest against having General MacArthur as their commencement speaker, thus endangering their academic careers and perhaps their livelihood! It might not have been so good for Princeton, but it would have been better for the Socialist candidate and his party if instead of conferring an honorary degree on him Princeton had tried to bar him from speaking to its students. That would have been an honor worth talking about from a labor standpoint.

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THE Passage by the House of Representatives of the Fish-Dies bill providing for the deportation of alien Communists is a threat to every radical group in this country and to every alien person who does not subscribe fully to the existing social order which has thrown 12 million workers on the streets to beg, and which permits these workers to be shot down and clubbed when they protest.

A Step Toward Fascism

As pointed out by *The Nation*, it so redefines Communism as to embrace almost every alien who advocates the establishment in this or any other country of a new social order based upon equality or common ownership of property, while by inference it would admit to this country persons advocating the violent overthrow of socialist or working class governments.

This is fascism. It is a step toward that fascist dictatorship about which A. J. Muste writes in this issue of *LABOR AGE*.

Workers, all persons who do not want to see bloody fascism established in this country, fight this bill! Pass resolutions in your organizations condemning it! Send these resolutions to your congressman!

Hungry Miners March In Charleston

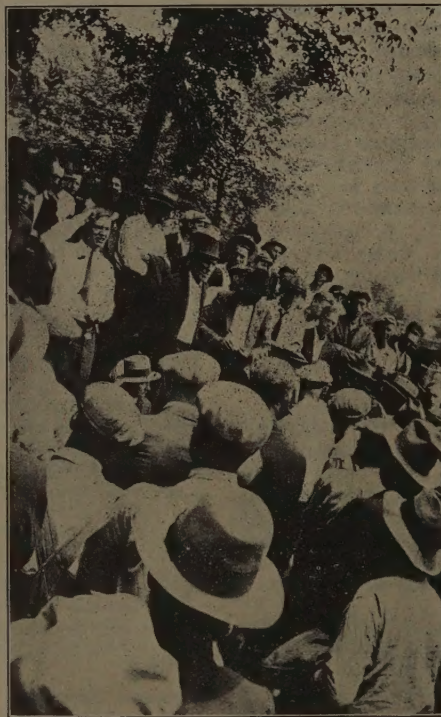
by Tom Tippet

STARVING coal diggers in the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia foiled the police to assemble and then defied them, to conduct an unemployment demonstration in the state capitol city of Charleston on June 4. The demonstration continued until the night of June 9. Each day its ranks were increased by additional hungry men and women and in the end they won. This does not mean that the hunger and unemployment problem is settled down here but it does mean that the demonstration opened up relief channels which had been closed to the miners and it halted the eviction of their families from their homes. Moreover, the hunger march caused the state of West Virginia to gather up the furniture of mine workers from a road side tent colony and haul it back into the houses from which a coal company had evicted it the week before. The demonstrators belong to the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. Frank Keeney, president of the union, was spokesman for the hungry group.

Last year the same group of miners marched in a hunger demonstration on Charleston, at the close of a strike conducted by the union. At that time, they were met at the city gates and prevented from crossing a bridge to the Capitol by armed members of the state police. This year the miners organized the demonstration secretly and entered the city in small numbers. They appeared en masse on the lawn of the State House before the police could organize against them. A hand bill had been distributed the night before the march throughout the valley. It was unsigned and read: "Notice: To the Miners and Other Starving Workers! Your Presence is Expected in Charleston—State Capitol—on Saturday Morning—10 a. m. This Notice Means—You Be There!—or Forever Stop Complaining of Hunger!" The state police saw one of the bills and at dawn threw an armed guard around every entrance to the state house, and it remained throughout the week.

At the appointed hour, several hundred miners appeared suddenly at the capitol; along the routes to the coal camps other miners were trudging towards the city and the crowd increased

by the hour. The police smuggled close to the doors of the building and increased their numbers as the mass grew in the yard. The city newspapers featured the story with a spread head: "Troopers Guard Capitol as Hungry Miners Gather." This story penetrated the valley and more miners were thereby set on the march.



Frank Keeney on Steps of W. Va. State Capital
Speaking to Demonstration of Miners

The state house is a new building scheduled to be dedicated this month. It is set in spacious grounds at the edge of the city on the banks of the Kanawha River; conspicuous for its exquisite design and expensive composition. It cost seven million dollars and intends to advertise that fact by a huge dome inlaid with gold leaf that added \$23,000 to the price of its erection.

After the hunger demonstration at the city bridge last year there was so much complaint made of the golden

dome, then under construction, and starving workers that the architect of the building came to town and said in the press that the gold leaf actually did not cost as much as it appeared. So the gold went on and thus it came about that this year the starving coal miners from whose labor West Virginia gets its wealth and power met to demand bread on the yard of their own capitol shaded from the heat by the golden dome which glimmered serene and beautiful in the sun.

The contrast was obvious and striking. These miners were hungry. They were ragged. The march had not been bolstered up or padded. For months and months they had waited in the camps, being put on and taken off various relief lists. Charity, as well as state and county funds were said to be exhausted. One mine after another had shut down; with them, the company stores had closed too. Hundreds of miners were living in tents, victimized workers from the mine strike last summer. Sickness was rampant in their families. They had appealed to this and that relief agency but their misery only grew. Then came a new batch of evictions in a camp called Gallagher. The Wacomah Fuel Company there caused the eviction of six families on June 1. The heads of these families had refused to work, without wages, in the mine to cover their rent while their families ate as best they could from the intermittent relief furnished by the county welfare. Last January six other families had been thrown out of the same company's houses and have lived ever since in tents furnished by the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. The new evictions raised the temper of the men. In still another camp at Whitesville, the mine closed, credit stopped at the store, and then a general announcement that the miners might have work for a flat rate of \$2.00 a day—when the mine operated.

One wage cut after another was imposed throughout the valley and although miners were compelled to accept them, thousands of their number were unable to find work and those who were employed were so paid that their families starved before their eyes. All of them, naturally, were paid

in company scrip and with it bought supplies at skyhigh prices in the "pluck-me" stores. It was no wonder then that when they saw a crude notice calling them to the capitol, they responded. Food was the topic of the hour. Miners' women tramped in to the demonstration with their children and many a coal digger there carried a baby in his arms. There were Negroes, too, and now and then an Italian or a Pole—a cross-section of the coal fields.

The miners elected a committee to carry their demands inside the marble building. At its head they placed Walter Seacrist, a young miner from Holly Grove who had just returned to his coal camp from Brookwood Labor College where he was a student since last year's strike. The demands of the marchers were headed by one against the eviction business, another for food or work, another demanding that America as a whole recognize the principle that all workers are entitled to the right to earn a living, or unemployment relief without the tang of charity. The committee trudged up the steps of the State House, a Negro member among them, past the armed guard and into the office of Governor Conley. The Executive was absent, of course, but his secretary talked with the representatives of the mob for two hours. In the end he said, as the Governor had said last year, that West Virginia could do exactly nothing for its unemployed and he recommended that the marchers go home again and solicit aid from the employed miners. While the state was thus talking with its citizens within the palace the crowd swelled outside. It listened to speeches, bristling with fire. It blocked traffic of the most aristocratic street in town. It improvised banners which said a lot of things, the most unique of which were: "If we don't get bread, we'll take it"; "Starvation for coal miners—thousands of dollars for the dome"; "Millions for the Capitol while we Starve"; etc.

Keeney Speaks

The committee appeared, the crowd surged into the streets, Seacrist mounted the steps and told the story—"and I told him," Seacrist concluded, "that if the state can't help us, we are going to help ourselves!" The crowd cheered and called for Frank Keeney. The president of the West Virginia Mine Workers pushed his way through the mob to the steps. In a speech that will live forever in the memory of coal diggers, Frank Keeney sketched the plight of workers in America. He

has lived in the West Virginia coal belt all his life and all of that time he has been struggling with and for the coal diggers. It was an incredible story of human suffering on the part of the miners, of uncanny cruelty from the coal operators, of gross callousness on the part of governments. He reminded the starving people before him that Governor Conley was one of the state executives who had answered an inquiry about hunger from the United States Senate that there was no starvation in West Virginia and he urged the miners to hold their ground. "In the end we shall be fed or we shall go out and take food," was Keeney's parting words to his coal diggers. And the miners did hold their ground. All day long they remained at the Capitol. Newspaper reporters darted in and out of the demonstration. The townspeople came to see what all the shouting was about and more miners showed up from the camps. Long before nightfall they were the talk of the town.

When it had started, no one thought the demonstration would last more than a few hours, but with a blank refusal of their demands, and their resolution to stay until fed, a dilemma presented itself. The miners had marched away from home expecting to return by nightfall. But when darkness came the demonstration was in full blast. Those who could remained; others went home to lock up the house and bring their families into Charleston. This diminished the crowd and

naturally enough the authorities then moved into action. Mayor DeVan appeared to persuade the committee to disband the crowd. The committee refused so to advise the mob but rather repeated the mayor's request and recommended that they remain. Then the Mayor intervened and appealed to the hungry ones peacefully to go home because his own and the city's sympathy was with them. But they hadn't come for sympathy. They so told the Mayor and refused to budge. Then he ordered the state police to clear the streets, to escort the miners out of the north end of the city. This meant that they were to be driven a few blocks up stream and leave the streets of Charleston in the southern direction in peace. The State Police moved towards the demonstrators and at that moment Frank Keeney mounted the steps in the dark and called his men to hold the fort. They did—to a man. "I say," shouted the Mayor, "they will march out of the North End of the city." "And I say," yelled Keeney, "they will march to the Southern part of the city." Then he told the men that Splash Beach was open to them, that they could march there and encamp "until we get 10,000 miners in here." The police did not touch a man, the Mayor backed down, the crowd raised its banners and marched down Kanawha street to the southern end of town and camped. As the parade began the city clocks tolled the hour of midnight. Splash Beach is owned by a member of the State Leg-



One of the Reasons for the Hunger March

islature who offered the place to the miners for their demonstration.

On Sunday, the following day, Splash Beach was full of hungry people. The place contained a water supply, toilets, and two small shelters used for bathers to change clothes. There was a place to swim and a lot of shady trees but that was all. Two miles up the river the Capitol rears its golden dome but the city of Charleston adjoins the beach and there the demonstration continued day after day. A thousand starving people were there coming from camps which lie back in the mountains from 20 to 80 miles. In the main they were Frank Keeney's coal diggers but other unemployed men from Charleston proper and the valley added their numbers and their voices to the demonstration. Keeney was elected spokesman for the group. Brant Scott, vice-president of the West Virginia Mine Workers, was put on the committee to negotiate with the state. George Scherer, secretary of the union, remained in the camp. The group organized committees to manage its affairs, to solicit food in the city, to schedule mass meetings, to carry on in a situation for which there was no blue print, the end of which no one could foretell.

A Very Different Governor

Governor Conley was present on Monday when the committee returned to the Capitol. He was cordial and cooperative and a very different governor from what he was in the demonstration of last year. He had instructed his secretary to tell the miners to go home and beg food from other starving miners the day before, but he himself made no such proposition after the coal diggers had refused to disband and while their numbers were increasing. He remained in his office and kept the door constantly opened to the demonstrators. From his desk, machinery began to operate and county funds came to light that could be used for food. The Red Cross in one of the counties suddenly found that it had some supplies on its hands that unemployed men, not suffering exactly from an act of God, could eat. But there was still the eviction business. Up on Paint Creek the evicted families from Gallegher were still strewn on the water bank. Another conference with the governor and the Attorney General was held to look into that. Scott was there; also Searist who lives a mile from the evicted families. The committee had the facts and their souls were burning with indignation. And then for West Virginia a miracle happened.

The Attorney General said he would not only halt the scheduled evictions but he would see that the thrown-out families would be picked up and taken back into their former homes—owned by the coal company. The miracle appeared when on the following morning the state of West Virginia did send trucks up to Paint Creek and carry the evicted families and their furniture back into coal company property—the same houses from which they had been dumped a few days before the hunger march. Nothing like that has ever occurred before in West Virginia. The miners, and everybody else, were dumbfounded.

After the first conference with the state on Saturday night, nothing was said about driving the miners out of the town. The attorney general or the governor made no reference to the committees about "going home." The city and state police hung round the camp but they said or did nothing. There was a camp police picked from the ranks of the hungry. Frank Keeney gave passes in and out of the beach. The attitude of the people of Charleston was obviously sympathetic to the miners. Business men and residents gave food to feed the camp every day; people brought blankets, coats and medicine over to the demonstrators. Women from the upper crust came to the camp in swanky automobiles, rubbed shoulders with much less fortunate women in rags there, only to drive their cars home to be loaded with supplies for the campers. In the City Council, quite unsolicited from the miners, a councilman introduced a resolution attacking the Mayor for attempting to drive the demonstrators off the Capitol grounds. Another resolution was similarly introduced asking that money be provided to feed the campers. These measures were tabled, but only after hours of debate, and at that they got six votes, and the newspapers carried the full story the following day. But the greatest display of solidarity was in the camp itself.

Because of geographical barriers and coal operator control, it is almost impossible to assemble 1,000 miners in the Kanawha valley. The hunger demonstration brought them together and they met, many of them for the first time, since the famous "Armed March" of 1921. A lot of stories were passed around, a lot of new resolutions made. There were eighty men there from Logan County—a place where miners are locked up like prisoners and who never before felt the warm solidarity of men massed together in a common misery. A story told

in a speech by a Negro from Logan in the camp cannot be recorded here, but it is burned into the blood of a thousand coal diggers; and the rest of us who heard it will be a long, long time forgetting. While the miners were encamped, they listened to union speeches, to men talking for the Independent Labor Party of West Virginia, they wrote and learned to sing new songs of labor; and their own instinctive solidarity grew as the eventful days passed.

All during the demonstration, the miners continued to win sympathizers to their cause. There was but one organized attack on them and that came from the United Mine Workers of America which only served further to disgrace that union in West Virginia. Officers of that organization caused a resolution to be presented to the governor and in the press attacking the demonstration, accusing Keeney and Scott of "stirring up trouble." The resolution was signed by three local members of the union but engineered by a labor politician in the state house. The miners exposed the trick and condemned the politician. When the return of the evicted families took place, the same politician attempted to claim credit for that action to his union but this was too raw and was merely laughed away by the coal diggers.

On the evening of June 9, the demonstration was officially ended. Hundreds remained in camp until the following evening and on Saturday the demonstration which was then one week old was the main topic of conversation in the streets of Charleston. It had remained on page one of the local press every day and by and large it got a good break in the news. The reporters were obviously with the miners, and one editorial appeared in their behalf. There was no press condemnation.

Permanent Jobless Organization Formed

The success of the demonstration was unexpected. No one thought the miners could or would stay in town for a week. No one thought the state would offer anything but promises. What did happen was because of the unknown element which lies hidden in every movement of organized action. And now that all of this did happen no one here believes that the unemployment problem has been solved; that there is no longer suffering and hunger in the coal camps. They all know better than that here. Foreseeing the same old conditions returning

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The BEF Digs In

by A Bonus Marcher

TWENTY-SEVEN thousand men, women and children now make up the Bonus Expeditionary Force. More are coming daily. And despite feverish attempts of Congress and Washington authorities to get the men to leave few are taking advantage of the offers of these "kind friends."

The Bonus Army is recruited from a cross section of the country, both white and black. At least 85 per cent of the men served overseas. Hundreds have distinguished service medals. They are Americans, the kind of Americans who a few years ago were proud of the role they played in the war, one hundred percenters. They believed in their government and defended it against "radicalism." But they are doing some fast thinking today. Few of them any longer can be flattered with the title, hero.

Many of the veterans have brought along their families. There are children here by the hundreds, ranging in age from six months to 17 years. More families are moving into camp daily. No provision has been made for these families other than that which the ex-servicemen can offer them. For some strange reason the various relief agencies such as the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., cannot get interested in these families. Official sanction is not forthcoming. No doubt it has been officially decreed that starvation, unlike war, is not an "act of God." Anyhow no one, outside of the kind citizenry of the rank and file, is doing anything to see that these children are properly housed and fed. Yet conditions are

terrible. For the women and children there are no toilet facilities nor places for bathing. An epidemic may break out at anytime. That, however, would no doubt be greeted by the authorities with a sigh of relief. Then they could force evacuation.

Excellent Morale

Perhaps an epidemic would have broken out long before this had it not been for the excellent discipline of the men. The manner in which these hungry and ragged "heroes of democracy" conduct themselves is marvelous. Even the officials are compelled to concede that. Out of the most impossible materials, sticks, old tin, discarded canvas, packing boxes and brush wood, they have builded themselves shelters. To prevent discouragement and broken morale they have devised all sorts of games and activities to keep themselves busy. They have ball games daily, plays at night, sports of all kinds. They sing. One of the most popular songs is a parody on "Over There." It goes like this:

"All you here—here and there—
"Pay the bonus, pay the bonus everywhere,
"For the Yanks are starving, the Yanks are starving,
"The Yanks are starving everywhere."

As I have already stated, the men here are good Americans. Few of them have ever allowed themselves to

listen to radicals before. Few of them have ever seriously questioned American democracy. Although they may have gone to the polls at election day, hot to vote against corrupt Democrats or dishonest Republicans, they have never questioned the fundamental characters of these parties or of the government.

Most of them are still good Americans, but they are changing fast. They still do not want Communists in their midst, because they are afraid that they will stir up trouble and give the authorities an excuse for turning the police or the army on them, breaking up their camp. But they no longer think that all radicals are fools and criminals. When Norman Thomas was here, for instance, they applauded him enthusiastically. Many of them are now beginning to think that their leaders are too easy. They believe that more force should be shown, that more militant demonstrations should be staged. With their numbers, they contend, the authorities could not afford to engage in police clubbing and machine gun play. Personally, I believe that Waters is doing the proper thing for the time being.

There are several other things about the leaders that the boys don't like. One of them is the sessions of the executive committee held behind closed doors. No bulletins are posted as to the outcome of these meetings. Now and then some one remarks that it is a sell out by the leaders. This partly accounts for Waters' resignation. But in my opinion Waters is not the kind of man who would sell out his comrades. He is doing what he considers

the only possible thing under the circumstances.

And the great majority of the men believe this too. Otherwise they would not have almost unanimously voted for his return a few days ago. Something of Waters' character can be learned from his speech delivered at squad drill after his return. "This is war," he shouted. "The only difference between us and an army in the field is that we have no weapons but our brains. . . . It (drill) will do you good because you'll have something to do besides sitting around feeling sorry for yourselves. I believe it will make some other people worry. What will it look like to the people uptown to see 20,000 men doing squads right?" After Congress had voted down the Patman Bill, contrary to Washington expectations, Waters commanded the men to go back to camp. "We are going to stay in Washington until we get the bonus no matter how long it takes," he asserted. "And we are 100 times as good Americans as those men who voted against it (the bill)."

We Are Criticized

Many organizations in the labor movement criticize us for being selfish. We are not the only unemployed they say, urging us to return home and unite with the other unemployed workers in demanding unemployment relief and giving up our demand for the bonus which they say will care for only part of the unemployed at the expense of the employed. I am not a radical, but this argument seems cockeyed to me. Not that I do not want to help in getting relief for my fellow workers who are not veterans. But because the bonus is a thing which at least hundreds of thousands of us have a good chance of winning. And we have a right to it. A legal right. And I can't see how, if we can force the government to pay us what is due us, it will make it harder for other unemployed workers to get relief. On the contrary, it will make it easier. It will raise their morale to see what can be accomplished by a determined group. Hence the proposal that we return home and enlist in unemployed councils to fight for general relief seems foolish to me. Yes, even reactionary.

This does not mean, however, that I am not in favor of such a proposal as that of Paul Winneman of Chicago who a few days ago was reported by Universal Press writers as wanting to bring in about 5,000 unemployed, not all veterans. Let them come, I say, and a lot of the boys here say the same. The more the merrier—for the author-

ities. All unemployed should be in Washington! Why don't they come on? The fact that he is not a soldier, sailor or marine makes no difference. When your children are starving you need immediate help no matter who or what you are.

But the advice to break camp and return home is exactly what the authorities want us to do, and are feverishly trying to make us do. Is it because they want us to unite with other groups to demand general unemployment relief? Is it because they are greatly concerned about our welfare? Is it because they will be much more likely to listen to us from our homes? No, it is because then we would be weaker. We would be disunited.

Listen to what that good radical General Harbord, Chairman of the Board of the Radio Corporation of America, staunch supporter of things as they are, including starving workers, has to say about the B.E.F.

"Nothing so ominous or so nasty as the bonus march has been seen in the United States since 1916, when the representatives of organized labor sat in the galleries of Congress and forced through the 8-hour day railroad law under threat of strike if it was not enacted into law," patriotically declares the General. "Not since 1783 has an army of citizens marched on the capital with evil in their hearts. . . .

"Something must be done to curb this movement," he continued, "otherwise it will spread and I don't know what may happen." The General went out of his way to clear the American Legion of any responsibility for the outrage. This was natural since one of the officials of this great American organization had at one time threatened to bring 150,000 men to Washington to disperse the ragged veterans who were not "really veterans at all."

But let me now close by quoting the speech of another well known American dealing with bonus marches. This time the speaker is not a great owner of utilities stock and does not sit on the board of directors of a great corporation. Nevertheless, he is well known and respected by the farmers of the country. The name of this man is John A. Simpson, president of the National Farmers' Union. The speech was delivered over the radio on June 25. Mr. Simpson said:

"When the President called a special session of Congress in 1929, a group of bonus seekers marched on Washington with claims against the Government. These claims had little of justice in them. The claims of the ex-service men are entitled to one hundred times more

consideration than were those of the bonus marchers of 1929. In 1929 it was a group of eastern manufacturers that came to Washington demanding a tariff bonus. There is some difference in the two armies. The ex-service men came on foot, by truck and box cars. The tariff marchers came in Pullmans and by private cars and even special trains. The ex-service men came in rags and without money or food. The tariff army came with clothes for travel, clothes for morning, clothes for afternoon, and clothes for evening. They came with pockets bulging with money and check books handy when needed. The soldier group slept in the open in Anacostia camp on the banks of the Potomac with a little straw for a bed and the sky for cover. The tariff army had rooms and suites of rooms in the Willard Hotel. The ex-service men came saying to Congress, 'We did our bit in France in 1917 and 1918, now we want our bonus.' The tariff hogs said to Congress, 'We did our bit in 1928, we now demand our bonus.' Senator Grundy, spokesman for the hogs, publicly stated that the manufacturers of his State had contributed \$750,000 to the Republican campaign fund, which was their bit, and they were here and that they now came to collect. The ex-service men, 200 of them with war medals pinned to their ragged shirts, are police watched day and night. The tariff hog army had the right of way, even the policemen standing aside when they approached. Congress just turned down the request of the ex-service bonus army. In 1929 they graciously granted the tariff bonus army everything they asked.

"In this session of Congress the big banker army came to Washington in just as grand style as did the tariff army in 1929. No policemen were put on their trail. Everybody tipped their hats to them. The President issued orders to Congress to grant every request of these high-powered robbers and racketeers. Both House and Senate meekly obeyed, and the banker barons left with \$2,000,000,000 to the good and a promise of as much more as they might need."

CPLA Forges Ahead in Hosiery Workers Union

As the result of its practical and militant proposals in the Hosiery Workers Union Local 1 of Philadelphia, two active CPLA-ers, Ryan and Payne, were elected as delegates to the national convention of that organization. A number of others sympathetic to CPLA policies were elected. The Communists elected one delegate.

The Rise Of the Hill Farmers

by Larry Hogan

THE farmers in the hills of North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia are, in many respects, different from any other type of farmer in the country. They are descendants of the early settlers and still use many of the primitive methods their forefathers used. While they do have steel plows, now, pulled by one and two horses, they still use the old fashioned cradle for harvesting grain, only about 25 per cent of them using reapers. Many of them have never seen one at work. Very few of them use tractors or riding plows.

Most of these hill farmers, up until a few years ago, didn't go in for farming as a cash or money making thing. They raised only enough vegetables for their home use. The chief reason for this was that most of them had plenty of chestnut and pulp wood which they could put on the market any time and get cash for.

Now the tanneries and pulp mills have either moved away or shut down, and the small farmer has found himself without any way of making money, there being no market for the produce which he grows. As a result, he is beginning to think along revolutionary lines. He now realizes that all is not as it should be and that, like the workers, he too is being oppressed. He is protesting, demonstrating and making speeches against the government. A few years ago he would have considered this wrong. But now he feels it his duty to fight the politicians that he once voted for, and he is ready to enlist in a party which will represent himself and the workers.

Can They Be Organized?

Heretofore the hill farmer has been classed as a person whom it would be impossible to organize. But the only effort that was ever made to organize him was that of the farmers' unions, federations, etc. These got his few dollars and skipped. Naturally he didn't think much of organization.

Last fall and winter when the country was talking about the impossibility of doing anything with the farmer, these farmers in the hills of North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia were organizing themselves into what they called debating societies, which met once a week for discussion of their problems.

At that time I was doing educational work for Brookwood Labor College and the Conference for Progressive

Labor Action. I learned about these debating societies and decided that I would enter some of the debates. I wanted to discover for myself whether or not these farmers could be organized.

Almost immediately I discovered that they not only could be organized but that they were anxious to band themselves together. As a result we organized The Progressive Farmers League which affiliated with the Southern Industrial League. We adopted a program of cooperation with the industrial workers and of progressive legislation, to be brought about through a farmer-labor party.

We began working on a ticket for this coming November election to run candidates for sheriff, a member of the legislature and county commissioners. We were making good progress when we found that the existing political ring, fearing such steps, had passed a new election law compelling candidates that were independent or belonging to a third party, to register by May 15 and to have a petition with 1,000 voters names on it before they could enter the November election. As we learned about this only about 10 hours before the dead line, we did not have time to get them registered.

The farmers were very hot over this. It was their first lesson in the methods used by the two old parties, the parties they had long believed in as democratic. As a result most of them have voted in meetings that, since they have a chance to vote only for crooks in the coming election, they will not vote for anybody. And they mean what they say, for in the primaries held in this county which has 7,500 voters only 2,800 voted and 800 of these were "absentee votes." They are working now to have their candidates out in plenty of time for the election which comes off two years hence.

One of the farmer's many problems now is taxes. They are being taxed almost beyond endurance. Many of them do not receive enough money during the year to pay their taxes. One farmer told me that four years ago he could pay his taxes with 100 bushels of corn. This year it takes 325 bushels. He has only enough land to grow 250 bushels if he rotates his crops, or grows enough vegetables for his home use.

Those that haven't had their land and homes sold for taxes are facing eviction, because of mortgages and notes on their land. Last year 900 homes and farms were sold in this county. This year 1,400 were sold. The Progressive Farmers League did everything possible to keep the land from being sold. It sent committees to protest the sales, but the commissioners had all kinds of excuses as to why the sales would have to take place. The morning of the sale members of the League flocked to town in cars and trucks to get out an injunction. They found, however, that the law could give them relief for only one week. After going before the commissioners again to protest, they drove back to their homes defeated, but better acquainted with the chains that bind them and more determined to break those chains. They are one long step nearer real action.

Uniting With the Workers

As never before, these small farmers are realizing that the problems of the industrial workers are linked with their problems, that if one is to get anywhere the other will have to cooperate. Thus, in addition to fighting their high taxes, they are anxious to help the workers abolish yellow dog contracts, injunctions, thugs and the use of militia in labor disputes. As one farmer said at a mass meeting recently, "The workers are suffering. So are we. They will have to remedy this. We will have to help them. To do this they will have to strike, and by God we can feed them. If this isn't done our only chance for freedom will be the old shotgun."

The farmers now realize that the workers are the ones who, if things were as they should be, would furnish them with a market for their produce. The chain stores have most of their vegetables shipped in from outside. The company stores very seldom keep vegetables. And the worker is forced to trade at the company store. They keep only such things as dry beans, salty pork, canned milk, such things as they can buy in large quantities and store. They could not make such great profits with perishable goods.

In order to relieve this situation the two groups are working to establish a direct contact between the farmer and the worker. This, as I described in a previous article in *LABOR AGE*, is to

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Masks and Footprints

PRESSURE of long-suppressed membership revolt was having effect in Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers toward the first of June.

Step by step the campaign of the "New Deal" group for correction of abuses in the union was bearing fruit. The officialdom, which for five years had had things its own way, was being challenged. Embarrassing questions were being asked International President H. H. Broach by a public committee. These questions referred to the failure of officers to make financial reports to the Local for a number of years, suspension of elections, expulsion of members for differing with the administration, and things of that sort.

Since 1929 elections in the local had been dispensed with; under this criticism, the officials had been compelled to call an election for this June 25. In the past, members had been expelled and manhandled for demanding elections and financial reports; now the officials felt it necessary to reinstate these members and to allow them freely to attend meetings.

Moreover, the eyes of the press were on Local 3. Since the slugging of Michael Clohessy after he had attended a forbidden meeting to demand an election, the acts of its officials had become news. It was clear that these officials were hard-pressed to explain what had been occurring in the local. In fact, International President Broach flatly refused to answer the questions put to him by the public committee.*

In a word, the heyday of Business Unionism had passed in the I.B.E.W. as elsewhere. The membership was in-

creasingly demanding that the facts be brought to the surface and looked in the face.

The forces of reaction, when cornered, frequently take refuge in subterfuge to deceive the workers. An American version of the famous "Zinoviev letter" had to be concocted. Sure enough, it appeared in the June issue of the Journal of the international union.

Masks and footprints, dime-novel-fashion, adorned the front cover of that issue. With them ran the blood-curdling title, "Union Destroyers Exposed." In explanation, the Journal edi-

may seek to conceal their local offices and operatives, but their headquarters they blazon to the world. That is the way they get business. Indeed, they choose the most imposing address for headquarters that they can hit upon. These letters, coming from "the headquarters" of the alleged agency (the Journal says so) come admittedly from nowhere.

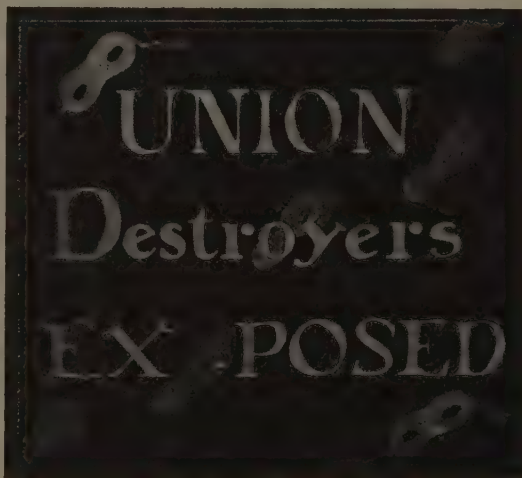
They are likewise addressed to nowhere. Neither the letter to "Bartley," to "Mr. Jackson, Chattanooga, Tenn.," "My dear Mr. Prescott, N. Y. City," nor the so-called branch offices in the various cities have any address by which they can be verified. The "Building Trades Committee, New York City," one of the alleged agency's supposed clients, is in the same boat. And what is worse, no one has ever heard of this distinguished committee.

The Long Distance Department of the Telephone Company has made a diligent search for the alleged spy agency and for "G. Edgar Applegate," who so obligingly signs the letters. It has found no hide nor hair of him. The United States Chamber of Commerce has made a thorough search of its files and the material in its library, and fails to discover this superbly covered-over under-cover organization.

The name of the "agency," as given in the "exhibits," is "The American Financiers Investigation and Protective Bureau." The Journal editorially dubs it "The American Financiers—Investigation and

Protective Service." But neither "Service" nor "Bureau" by that name is anywhere to be found on the face of the globe.

A second "unique" feature characterizes these "documents." We have said that they came from nowhere. Perhaps it would be better to say that they come from everywhere. Without an address, they bear typewritten notations of "Pittsburgh," "Cincinnati," "Baltimore," "St. Louis," "Dayton, Ohio," "Cleveland, Ohio," and "Buffalo, N. Y." Now, expert examination shows that all the letters, from these various points, were typed on the same machine—a No. 12 Remington. This weighty typewriter must have been lugged around from city to city within a



This Weird Picture Is from the Cover of the June Issue of "The Electrical Workers Journal"

torially stated: "The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers offers in evidence of a nation-wide spy plot against the union nine unique and startling exhibits." Inspection of the documents as printed, and of the explanation of them by International Secretary G. M. Bugniet, made them "unique" and "startling" indeed.

Nowhere to Be Found

In the first place, the alleged spy agency has the interesting distinction of being undiscoverable. In none of its alleged letters, which so blithely reveal all that the officials want revealed, is there any address or hint of an address. Now, industrial spy agencies have one outstanding weakness. They

*The members of this public committee are: Devere Allen, associate editor, The Nation; Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Rev. T. Chaffee, Labor Temple; Malcolm Cowley, associate editor, New Republic; Theodore Dreiser, author; Rabbi S. Goldstein, Free Synagogue; J. B. Matthews, secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation; A. J. Muste, C. P. L. A.; Dr. Leroy Bowman, Child Study Association; Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, Columbia University; Prof. William L. Nunn, Dana College; Dr. Walter T. Peck, League for Independent Political Action; David J. Saposs, Brookwood Labor College; Tucker P. Smith, Committee on Militarism in Education; Rev. William B. Spofford, Church League for Industrial Democracy; Norman Thomas, League for Industrial Democracy; Rev. Charles C. Webber, Union Theological Seminary; Edmund Wilson, author and critic; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue

period of a couple of months, in order to get the letters written by the agile Mr. "Applegate" from the different places mentioned.

The third "startling" fact about these "documents" is that they are carefully shielded from examination. Repeated requests by the public committee to be allowed the privilege of examining them have met with stony silence. Certainly, anyone who had authentic documents of such import should be delighted to present them, to friend and foe alike. Such clinching evidence would strengthen the confidence of friends, and would confound and disconcert enemies. The officials of the I. B. E. W. sent news items of its exposure far and wide through the labor press; they would not, however, allow the "exhibits" to be examined at first hand by an impartial committee.

Even the friends of the administration in Local 3 became skittish about the great labor spy revelations when the clumsiness of the business was exposed. The so-called "Defense Group" had attacked the public committee as a bunch of meddling preachers and professors. They had also made quite a to-do about the "spies" in one of their last leaflets before the election. But on election day in the local, after the crudities of the "documents" had been pointed out, they remained discreetly silent on this subject. Suddenly they changed their slogan to: "Vote for \$13.20 a day!" The hobgoblin spies vanished into thin air.

Exposing Nothing and Nobody

In the fourth place, this "exposure" in reality exposes nothing and nobody. That is, perhaps, its most exquisite feature. It reveals unknown persons feverishly making contacts with unknown organizations. With such ready access to the files of the undiscoverable Mr. "Applegate," not one flesh-and-blood person is uncovered as one of the spies in question. On the contrary, Bugniazet is compelled heavily to drag in the "New Deal" group. But he does not dare accuse them of being the elusive spies. Nor does he produce one shred of evidence to show who is one of this nefarious espionage outfit.

We have no knowledge, of course, of the person or persons who invented this horrid hoax. All that can be said, in pity as much as in censure, is that the officials of the I.B.E.W. are either very glib or very

unscrupulous. There is a naivete about this thriller they have given to the world that is reminiscent of "Alice in Wonderland."

For the workers, there is a lesson in this episode as to how reactionary union officials will fight, when unable to answer on reactionary policies. They will resort to fiction and old worn-out political trickery. But all the labor spy data in the world could not blot out the vicious practices which have existed in the Electrical Workers' Union, such as:

1. The autocratic constitution, giving the international president practically unlimited power.

2. The expulsion and slugging of members who protested against lack of financial reports, or who demanded elections.

3. The barring of members from meetings for differing with the administration.

4. The agreement with the New York Edison Company, not to organize the workers of that company. (Although printed in our April issue, this agreement has not been repudiated by the officials.)

These are some of the questions before the electrical workers, and no spy agency would be required to bring them to the fore. They are evils which arise invariably out of Business Unionism. The collapse of the economic structure on which Business Unionism was predicated, has brought them out in their stark nakedness.

More than this, it is thoroughly out of order for union officials who continue the agreement with the Edison interests and who are linked up with the four big firms in the New York electrical market to become overheated on the subject of alleged employers' activities in the union. The whole essence of the Broach program (as outlined by M. H. Hedges in his pamphlet

on "A Strikeless Industry") is unblushing cooperation with certain employers.

Sandwiched in with the "spy" documents, in the Journal, was an attack upon myself. The sole reason for this attack was my article in the April issue of LABOR AGE. The attack contained statements so grossly false that I was compelled to file a \$10,000 libel suit against Broach, Bugniazet and Hogan.

This tactic of the officials was a dead-giveaway as to their desperation. Early in May, M. H. Hedges had written me a "confidential" letter, expressing concern at my April article. (Hedges is in reality the editor of the International's Journal and expert researchman for Broach.) I had replied, equally confidentially, since he had put it that way, explaining the serious abuses in the union administration as I saw them but stating that if he would send on any information that apparently justified the situation I would be more than glad to consider such data.

No reply ever came, although my proposed article in the May issue was postponed in order to give Hedges the courtesy of presenting any information he had. Instead, the fictitious attack was being prepared. It was evident that the international office could not present any test-proof facts to support their position.

The same attitude was assumed by International President Broach in his correspondence with the public committee. In two successive letters he declined to answer any of the charges of autocracy, gangsterism and suppression made against the officials of Local 3 and the International. Finally, the public committee urged some supervision of the local elections by an impartial committee. They pointed out that the present officials had kept themselves

in office by the simple device of suspending elections, and that the charges against them made local supervision of the election a hazardous thing.

President Broach greeted this request with a blast (June 9) against the public group for its "Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde" role, and stated: "Your 'gall' and stupidity are really surprising—or you must think us uninformed, inexperienced fools." He closed with this thought: "Please, therefore, be good enough to confine your letter-writing to others and the public

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WASHINGTON

June 22, 1932

New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs—

Thorough search of our files and the material in our library fail to reveal any organization with the title "American Financiers' Investigation and Protective Bureau," the subject of your letter of the twentieth.

1.

Very truly yours,

D. A. SIMMER

Secretary.

press, for which use we suspect this is really intended."

President Broach had written in the past numerous presidential statements in the *Journal* on his own infallibility. It was plain that he became peeved when that infallibility was questioned.

"New Deal" Victory

As to the election in the local itself: It proved to be a great moral victory for the "New Deal" group. Many of the men on the progressive ticket had only returned a short while back to the local meetings. They had been among those "exiled" by the administration because of opposition to Broach-Hogan policies. Terrorism was tried right on the eve of the election, when 200 "stalwarts" of the machine broke up a meeting called by the public committee to conduct a fair election.

But the spotlight of publicity and protest had broken the backbone of the real Terror. The membership sensed this to a large degree, even though intimidation was attempted in new form to the last. No official notice of the election was sent out, as required by the union's rules. At the voting, the thugs and followers of the administration lined the stairs. Every one who voted had to run this gauntlet. Inspection of the mechanism of the voting machines was not allowed, although the machines were solely in the hands of the official forces. Inside the ropes, at least 200 administration supporters remained, with the business agents, while representatives of the opposition were not permitted there.

Despite all this, International Treasurer William A. Hogan was defeated for financial secretary by the "New Deal" candidate, David O'Hara. The vote, as reported, was 2107 to 1907. Hogan was the candidate who, above all others, the administration wanted elected. He has been the head and front of the official forces in the Local.

The "New Deal" group likewise elected Harry Gilroy to the executive board. Their candidate for President, John Sullivan, received 1752 votes to 1895 for the incumbent, Frank Wilson. The presence of two "independent" candidates in the field for this office confused the vote. For vice-president, the "New Deal" candidate would have been successful, according to the count, had not the Communist Party "Rank and File Committee" had a candidate, who took enough votes away to insure the choice of the administration nominee.

But the most salutary effect of the election was the atmosphere that it created. The paralysis of fear that had hung over the Local was largely broken. The large vote cast for the "New Deal" candidates gave strength and a

new viewpoint to many of those who had supported the administration.

The campaign of the "New Deal" group is thus making headway for a return to democracy and freedom from intimidation.

Negro Workers Need CPLA

The following is a reprint from an article by Ernest Rice McKinney, in the Pittsburgh Courier (Negro Daily) of June 11, 1932. Mr. McKinney, after pointing out that "in many respects the Negro in the United States is the marvel of the civilized world," because "in the face of overwhelming prejudice, proscription and segregation, he is the staunchest of conservatives and reactionaries," goes on to analyze the program of the CPLA.

Of all groups Negroes should be intensely interested in this program. In the first place they are laborers and unskilled workers. They are members of the largest group in the United States; the unskilled and the worst exploited. Furthermore the CPLA has Negroes in mind along with the exploited and submerged white workers. Their program is entirely different from and opposed to that of the American Federation of Labor. The mass of Negro workers need a program of this kind. Negroes are not only exploited by the white capitalist but by the Negro capitalist as well. It is about time that the Negro worker found this out. He has an idea that if there was a large number of black men of wealth and economic power that they would use this wealth and power for the benefit of Negroes as a whole and that this black capitalist group would be protection for him against white capitalism. There is absolutely no good reason for believing this to be true. A strong and aggressive black capitalism could only add to the already heavy burden already carried by the Negro workers. It is inherent in capitalism that this should be true. For instance, should there come a time of wage cutting as at present, Negro manufacturers would be compelled to cut along with the rest or else they would be crushed by a combination of the others or would fall for reasons inherent in the system.

Furthermore, that is no reason for believing that Negro capitalists would be of a higher ethical type than the white capitalists. There is no reason to believe that a Negro banker would hesitate to crush a debtor because that debtor happened to be black. I know of nothing at

present that leads me to believe that Negro manufacturers employing large numbers of men would look at their employees in anyway different from white manufacturers. There may be some Negroes who believe that black bosses would be gentler and more humane than white bosses, but my experience with Negroes forces me to believe otherwise. Negro workers could gain absolutely nothing from black capitalism just as they gain nothing from white capitalism.

The immediate program of the CPLA includes: "To organize the masses of unorganized workers in basic industries, such as steel, automobiles, textiles, electrical equipment, into militant industrial unions, and to inspire them to struggle for their rights.

"Industrial unionism, bringing all the workers of all crafts in a shop or industry into one powerful union; inclusive unionism, taking in all the workers regardless of race, color, nationality, creed or sex, the unskilled and semi-skilled as well as the skilled. . . .

"To win American workers away from the Republican and Democratic parties, and to organize them into a mass labor party."

Branches and members of the CPLA are expected to promote efforts to "organize unorganized workers, especially in the basic industries. Special encouragement of efforts to organize neglected groups such as the young workers, women, Negro workers, etc."

Negroes interested in this program may find it in *Labor Age* for April. . . . I am not urging Negroes to join the CPLA to the exclusion of all other movements of a similar nature. I think that they should know about it. I further believe that Negro workers should get the literature of the movement and study it to the end that they may be intelligent about what is going on around their heads. As a workers' movement thousands of Negroes should get into it and let the Republican and Democratic parties be damned and hanged. Sometime soon I will continue this discussion of liberal and radical movements as they affect the Negro, or rather as they ought to affect him.



"We Point With Pride"

..... AMERICA'S STAM

by A. J. Muste

THE United States came into being as a republic in a revolution against monarchy. When the nation had to be swept into a world-war fifteen years ago, it had to be lured with the slogan, "The War to Make the World Safe for Democracy." In fact until a few months, one might almost say weeks ago, lip-service to the democratic ideal was universal. Nobody talked about abolishing our sacred form of government except Bolsheviks, who were anathema. Overnight a big change has come and it is now a common thing to hear people say that "what this country needs is a Dictator."

So significant is this change that it is worth while showing in some detail how widespread and open the cry for Fascism has become and how far in the direction of actually establishing an avowed capitalist dictatorship we have gone.

Students of the subject have long been aware of the concentration of economic and financial resources in a few hands. In one industry after another an approach is made to complete monopoly and a few banks hold the big industries in their power. James W. Gerard spoke out of his turn a couple of years ago and figured that the real rulers of this land of the free numbered about sixty.

The depression has served to bring out in the open tendencies that otherwise might have continued to work underground for a good while. Recently, Geo. L. Harrison, governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, after a secret conference with Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills, Hoover's righthand man, revealed the formation of the Young Committee of bankers and industrialists who were to take extraordinary measure to stop the depression and put the country on its feet. We understand that in religious Wall Street they are called the Twelve Apostles! According to the *New York Times* these twelve control directly over 18 billions in banking and industrial resources, but that is only part of the story. Nine of the twelve saviors of the republic represent the House of Morgan directly or indirectly. The Morgan-National City-Chase financial oligarchy (167 individuals) held directorships a year or two ago in corporations with net assets

of more than 74 billion, nearly one-fourth of all the corporate assets of the country.

The Twelve Apostles

Note the list of the Young Committee members into whose hands the task of taking charge of the chaotic situation is handed over, and figure for yourself for whom this dictatorship is likely to operate:

"OWEN D. YOUNG—Ten directorships, including Radio Corporation, General Motors, American and Foreign Power and two German affiliates of General Electric.

MORTIMER N. BUCKNER—Sixteen directorships, including the New York Life Insurance Company, two railroads and three power companies.

FLOYD L. CARLISLE—Forty-six directorships, including the National City Bank, five other banks and twenty power companies, among them United Corporation, Consolidated Gas and Niagara Hudson Power.

WALTER S. GIFFORD—Twenty-seven directorships, including the First National Bank, United States Steel and a score of telephone companies.

CHARLES E. MITCHELL—Twenty-six directorships, including five banks, Anaconda Copper, Postal Telegraph, and twelve companies with far-flung imperialist interests, such as International Telephone and Telegraph, International Banking Corporation, American I. G. Chemical Corporation and the Bank of Haiti.

WILLIAM C. POTTER—Twenty-seven directorships, including Mutual Life Insurance Company, Bethlehem Steel, four power companies, including Electric Bond and Share, four railroads and four international concerns with imperialist interests, including American Congo Corporation.

JACKSON E. REYNOLDS—Twelve directorships, including Southern Pacific Railway, Montgomery Ward, Tide-water Associated Oil and two coal companies.

ALFRED P. SLOAN, JR.—Seven directorships, including Chase National Bank, E. I. duPont de Nemours and the Pullman Company.

A. A. TILNEY—Sixteen directorships, including International Paper, American and Foreign Power and eight power companies.

ALBERT H. WIGGIN—Forty-three directorships, including five banks, American International Corporation, Westinghouse Electric, American Locomotive,

American Sugar Refining, Armour & Co., American Woolen, Metropolitan Life Insurance, International Agricultural Corporation and Montreal Locomotive.

WALTER C. TEAGLE, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, has only two directorships, and Clarence M. Woolley, chairman of the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation, has none."

This might be a good point at which to call attention to the suggestion for a dictatorship in a recent address at Notre Dame University by Owen D. Young, frequently mentioned as a highly desirable presidential candidate on the "Democratic" ticket (worthy successor to Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson). He complains that "our banking system is threatened—by the fact that there is no centralized authority anywhere with power to act." He thinks it quite explainable that the government provided for in the Constitution "should function under normal conditions and should fail us altogether when the avalanche comes on. It may be that we shall have to consider some method of putting extraordinary power in the hands of the President in times like these." The *New York Times*, supposed to be an independent Democratic organ, makes the laugh complete by weeping that such a man as Young "is barred by politicians from being thought of as a possible President of the United States"—with dictatorial powers of course.

Hoover prefers to do the dictating himself, however, and has turned down proposals to revive the Council of National Defense (a war institution) made to him by a large number of leading business men including William Green of the American Federation of Labor and president David B. Robertson of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen. Herbert says that he can manage to win "the battle to set our economic machine in motion in this emergency," and points out that "we used such emergency powers to win the war, we can use them to fight the depression."

Engineer or Dictator?

That the Great Engineer will transform himself into the Great American Dictator if occasion presents itself was plainly shown by one of his spokesmen in the Senate recently, Reed of Pennsylvania. That great patriot and de-

PEDE TO FASCISM

fender of the Constitution in attacking bonus legislation cried out: "I do not often envy other countries their governments, but I say that if this country ever needed a Mussolini, it needs one now." Having thus let the cat out of the bag he beat a momentary retreat by saying: "I am not proposing that we make Mr. Hoover our Mussolini!"

Henry L. Harriman, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, submits to the New York State Bankers Association Fourteen Points to restore prosperity. Doubtless having in mind the Fourteen Points of another great exponent of democracy who could be a dictator when occasion demanded, he lays down Point 12: "Give to the President when Congress is not in session, the right to suspend the operation of existing laws and to provide for emergency measures." He adds, "Such rights not to include taxing authority," for by accident the dictator might want to tax a rich man just like ordinary dumb voters sometimes propose. Mr. Harriman is another who mixes piety with his business. He proclaims that "the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments will always be the true guide to real and lasting prosperity." Jesus was another advocate of dictatorship presumably.

Grover A. Whalen at his inauguration recently as president of the Advertising Club of New York, advanced a similar idea that "business" must assert itself forcefully, although for the present at least he would substitute for Owen Young's dictator, "business leadership."

Nicholas "Miraculous" Butler of Columbus University also has visions of "the strong man" and the people turning to him. "The thoughtful people of the United States," he proclaims, "are profoundly alarmed at conditions in Washington—and if a chance were given them to follow a real leader of large intelligence, demonstrated administrative capacity and moral and intellectual courage, they would rise and sweep the whole discredited fabric of our present-day national political machinery into the dustbin." Nothing revolutionary about this of course!

As is hinted in this quotation from Dr. Butler, one way in which the proponents of Fascism are working is by a concerted attack upon Congress, the legislative branch of the government. Paul Y. Anderson has admirably

summed up this phase of the situation in a recent issue of the Nation.

"More significant than all the manoeuvrings of the professional politicians, it seems to me," writes Mr. Anderson, "is the obvious purpose of certain interests, under cover of the present emergency, to set up some kind of political and economic dictatorship. As the first stage of this movement we are now witnessing the most dishonest, vicious, and formidable campaign of propaganda and slander ever waged against Congress during my lifetime. In the face of harassments and obstacles almost unparalleled, the present Congress has made a devoted effort to do its duty. It has listened patiently to the camp-meeting exhortations of John Garner and the breast-beating orations of Charlie Crisp, and still has managed to do an amazing amount of hard work in a remarkably short time. Yet through the press and the radio it has been subjected to abuse, misrepresentation, and vilification on an unprecedented scale. Who is behind this barrage of calumny? Why, the millionaire morons whose rapacity plunged the country into its present plight. And what is the essence of their complaint? Why, that Congress in six months has failed to restore the health of a nation which they undermined for twenty years by sucking industry and agriculture dry of every drop of blood, thus bankrupting the purchasing power of the consuming public. Talk about demagogues! This is demagoguery on a plane low enough to insult the intelligence of an infant chimpanzee, but there is a well-defined and obvious purpose in it. Already the glib Owen D. Young has advanced the desirability of reposing greater powers in the President, and the ineffable Dave Reed has mentioned the possibility of an "American Mussolini"—although he suggested no candidate, and Al Capone has been put away temporarily. The point is, however, that these people are whipping themselves into a state of preparation for an attempt to overturn the constitutional processes of government and to seize openly the power which they have long exercised by indirect means. It may be stupid, but subtlety has never been characteristic of this particular class."

Please, Mr. Morgan!

The prayers of a dictator-savior become at times positively hysterical. Bernarr Macfadden in the *Evening*

Graphic for June 20 cries: "What we need now is martial law, this is no time for civil law. The President should have dictatorial powers — a general when he is fighting a battle does not ask whether anything is constitutional or not when he makes his plans for offense or defense." It is not safe to dismiss this as the vaporings of a moronic publicity hound, for thousands read him.

Anyway, listen to this appeal from *Forbes Magazine* for June, a prayer of red-blooded American he-man readers for Mr. Morgan to save them:

"Your firm, Mr. Morgan, has attained world financial leadership.

"Your House is the recognized representative, the nominal or defacto fiscal agent here of the principal countries of Europe, a distinction which invests you with international responsibilities and obligations.

"You and your firm partners are directly identified with more of America's gigantic banking institutions, industrial corporations, railway systems and utility corporations than any other firm or group or organization in the country. . . .

"There is dire national need for the assertion of aggressive leadership today to stay the alarming boomerang, the alarming consequences begotten by the riotous inflation of 1928-29.

"The American people were taught oftener than once by your father to turn to him for dominating, fruitful leadership in acute national crisis.

"The American people appeal, the American people feel they have the right to appeal, to you, the present head of a House of Morgan infinitely more gigantic and powerful than the House of Morgan in your father's day, to come forward at this hour of unprecedented unemployment, distress, discontent, and assume the leadership your father unquestionably would have assumed before conditions had been permitted to become as grave and ominous as they are at this moment. . . .

"A ten-line announcement that you were calling together representative bankers from every quarter of the continent with a view to planning a definite, comprehensive program to stop the slaughter of security values, to make credit more readily available for industry, business, enterprise, and to push forward vigorously other constructive

activities, would in all human probability, be sufficient to transform sentiment overnight and to start the country on its overdue upward course.

"Won't you please do what your father surely would have done had he still been head of the House of Morgan?"

Well may the *New Republic* speak of such manifestations of a yearning for Fascism as "based on the fears, the prejudices, the neurotic impatience, of the middle class." These Babbitts who have been nourished on the gospel of rugged individualism and know no allegiance to a class, can in a crisis think only of some super-Babbitt with the commanding manner of a Big Banker as the means of deliverance.

From our standpoint the chief source of worry lies in the fact that American workers and farmers too have been soaked with this psychology of individ-

ualism. They have not built up an effective labor movement. They have no confidence in the labor movement which does exist, and with good reason. The official trade union movement follows the lead of big business, it has no positive philosophy and possesses neither the impulse nor the power for fundamental social reconstruction. The Socialists are weak, largely middle-class, and there is no indication that they have the stamina to meet a revolutionary crisis. A considerable number of workers and intellectuals are turning to the Communists who at least sound a revolutionary note. But the American Communist movement has repeatedly obtained a large and hopeful following among American workers only to lose it as a result of its own stupidity. Besides, a group of militants, however brave and devoted, who try to lead a revolt with no organized

masses to follow them, can but meet swift and bloody defeat.

Unity of all sincere elements in the labor and farmer moment of the United States is a crying and urgent need. As I write these words in Chicago, a run is on even on the big downtown banks. If they should crash, the whole present political and economic system may go down with them. What the bosses will do in such an emergency we have clearly shown in this article. They will try to put J. P. Morgan or some other replica of Mussolini on horseback and proclaim a Fascist regime in America. Against that attempt, whether it be made tomorrow or later, there must be a united anti-Fascist front. If we have any breathing-space, we must hasten to build industrial unions, a mass labor party, a will to power in the American working-class.

The Socialist Convention

by Jack Kaye

WE live in a time that is pregnant with big historic events. Before our eyes ends an important epoch in the history of mankind. The whole capitalist system is not only definitely put on trial, but we are indeed facing a breakdown of this system which has been always full of inconsistencies. These inconsistencies have found expression in numerous business cycles and crises.

Some of these past crises have also been quite serious, but they were different from the present one. Never before did the capitalist class lose faith and confidence in a revival. Today some of capitalism's most intelligent leaders have publicly declared the situation hopeless. Thus, Montgaue Norman, director of the Bank of England, in a letter to the President of the Bank of International Payment, predicts that at the end of the year 1932 we shall witness the breakdown of the capitalist system.

In this trying hour, when capitalism definitely has failed to find a way out, the labor movement the world over must emerge from the passive stage of merely adopting resolutions against the system and must energetically work out tangible plans to build an organization with which to launch the final blow against capitalism.

The Socialist Convention recently held in Milwaukee, the only triumphant Socialist City in America, failed to convince anyone that the Socialist Party

shows any semblance of becoming a strong factor in these United States of America, where organized labor has so far proved provokingly reactionary and ineffective, and where only about twelve per cent of the total industrial workers are organized.

True, in the brilliant oratorical keynote speech of Morris Hillquit, at the opening of the convention, analyzing the political situation, it seemed to me that at last the Socialist Party had learned by the errors of its past experience and would come out of this Convention with a revolutionary message and proper approach to this most opportune situation.

That speech was a strong urge to the workers to get ready for the fight, but this spirit disappeared as soon as the business of the convention began. Every resolution with revolutionary content introduced by the so-called "Militants" of the Socialist Party, was violently defeated. The only one that was passed was the resolution on Russia, which was greatly moderated and amended by Norman Thomas. At that, it was carried by a majority only through a political trick of joining forces with the Wisconsin delegation, who are not any more radical than Hillquit and the others, but who voted for the Russian resolution in order later to get the support of the Mil-

itants in electing their Mayor Hoan as the National Chairman.

The second time the Militants took up the cudgels against the Old Guard, was when a resolution on labor and the trade unions was introduced by one of the Militants, Arthur McDowell of Pennsylvania, and indorsed by Powers Hapgood of Indiana. This resolution demanded:

"That a National Committee shall be established to co-ordinate and carry out the following activities:

1. Employ competent field organizers whose duty it shall be to seek out situations in the industrial field where their services can be most useful to the workers in all their industrial struggles whether they are organized or are seeking to organize.

2. Through the agency of the labor organizer, stimulate and press the organizing, especially in the basic industries along industrial union lines, as required by present day developments. This shall be carried on in co-operation with such sincere labor groups as are now or will be so engaged.

3. Create an information department in charge of the labor organizers whose function it will be to inform the party and its branches of industrial situations where they can be useful. Other departments to provide legal aid, publicity and speakers.

4. Call upon Socialists to become active in their unions and participate in Central Labor bodies not only as trade

unionists, but as Socialists. The efforts of Socialists to commit their union to the idea of independent political action and the sponsoring of social legislation advocated by the Socialist Party must be vigorously pressed."

Happgood, in a lengthy speech, told the convention about the good work by the C.P.L.A. in West Virginia, and in other industrial regions. He warned the convention, that unless they adopt a sound trade union policy, the C.P.L.A. will soon wield a big influence among the industrial workers. After a heated discussion, of two hours, the resolution was defeated, and that of the majority, providing friendly co-operation between the party and the trade unions, was carried.

A Quarrel Void of Clarity

The Militant position in the convention was a quarrel void of clarity. In their anxiety to get quick results they failed to bring their ideas even once before the convention. The most humorous instance occurred when the Illinois delegation moved to reinsert the words "class struggle" in the application blank for socialist membership—Paul Blanchard, the spokesman of the Militants, all through the convention voted against it, and supported Hillquit's simplified form eliminating "Class Struggle," which was carried by a small majority.

Also in various other instances they failed to give a revolutionary interpretation of a sound Socialist opposition, which they supposedly promulgated before the convention.

The inadequate clarification of their program was again exemplified by the nomination of a national chairman. Here the Militants were afforded a big opportunity to criticize and show how the party had been remiss in its duty to organize the unorganized. Here more than any other time they could have brought up Morris Hillquit's attitude towards Soviet Russia, but not a word of criticism did they dare utter. They merely joined forces again with the Wisconsin Delegation to try to substitute Daniel Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee for Morris Hillquit, the founder, and for years the acknowledged leader of the Socialist Party, for national chairman. After a big battle in which the Militants took no part, Hillquit was elected by rather a close vote of 7,500 to 7,000.

It is interesting to note that no major issues were brought up in the fight for national chairmanship. The supporters of Daniel Hoan, Vladeck and Thomas, merely contended that because Hoan has been a successful

mayor, he would be a successful party leader, and the supporters of Hillquit emphasized his ability and merits in serving the party all through its existence.

It was Hillquit who classed his opponents which joined to defeat him, as the "Holy Alliance." He called them non-Marxian Socialists, and in his ardent speech of acceptance he began: "I do not belong to the Daniel Hoan group to whom Socialism consists of merely providing clean sewers for Milwaukee, neither am I a Heywood Brown Socialist to whom Socialism is merely a delightful novelty, I am also against practical Socialism, for I am above all else a Marxian Socialist." His brilliant oratory and his programmatic injections in the discussion probably aided him in his victory of once again being elected Chairman of the National Executive.

The final session of the convention, passionately addressed by Hillquit, Maurer, Hoan and Thomas closed harmoniously and almost satisfactorily to all groups.

Membership Report

The Socialist membership report indicated again that there is as yet no semblance of a labor movement in this country. In 1903 the Socialist Party had a membership of 15,975 and 29 years later, the year 1932, the membership is 15,332, out of which the membership of the language federations numbers 2,936. I give these figures, not as one who would sneer at the situation, but one who seriously

ponders over the problem as to how we are to build a vigorous labor movement in these United States.

The Communists with their disruptive and sectarian methods, and their perseverance to crush anything and everything which is not 100 per cent Communist, is, it seems to me, out of the question, but isn't it time that the Socialist Party should once for all seriously consider the ineffectiveness of their 32 years of Socialist propaganda?

If the Socialist Party hopes to resume its activities as a political group detached from the masses of the industrial workers, as the recent convention has proved, then the responsibility of the continuous attacks upon the unremitting laboring masses in this country will rest also on the Socialist Party. The industrial field, which is the only channel through which a labor movement can be built, was unforgivably neglected although it was discussed at great length during the first day of the unofficial opening of the Convention.

Amicus Most, delegate from W. Va. and others highly eulogized the work of the C.P.L.A. among the unorganized. "If they can do it, why can't the S. P. do it," Most dramatically asked. Many other delegates criticized the National Executive for having taken an indifferent attitude towards the unorganized. Of course Gerber, who presided at that meeting, exonerated the N. E. due to lack of funds.

The Convention elected also a new National Executive which the Militants believe will be committed to aggressive action. We have now to wait and watch.

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Whither Bound Chile?

by J. B. Matthews

FOR two or three years rumors have persisted that Chile would be the first country in the Western Hemisphere to embrace communism. When, on June 4, 1932, the government of President Montero was overthrown, many thought that "red" Chile was an accomplished fact. Since that date, however, events have thrown grave doubt upon the character of the revolutionary leaders. General Grove and Sr. Davila have been alternating in power with a swiftness made familiar by the war lords of China. It is useless to predict who will be heading the *junta* by the time this type is set. More important still are the uncertainties which characterize the objectives of the leaders. One thing alone seems fairly certain: neither Grove nor Davila intends to go very far in risking the displeasure of the Wall Street financiers who have accentuated the plight of the Chilean workers.

Chile is a narrow strip of land on the Southwestern Coast of the South American Continent. It has the natural advantages of a wide range of climate for the development of a vigorous people. It has been the custom for people in the United States to look upon Chile as one of the more advanced states of the Southern Continent—one of the ABC Powers. Its population is approximately four million, chiefly Spanish stock.

The Chilean bond with American industry and agriculture is, as everybody knows, nitrate. The great nitrate fields of Chile are in the northern part of the country where about sixty thousand Chilean workers have been employed during the post-war period. The national welfare of the entire country is closely bound up with the nitrate industry, and any movement of the price levels of nitrate is of national importance.

Chile produces 65 per cent of the world's iodine—a by-product of nitrate production. Chile is the sole source of iodine for the United States, as well as the chief source at present of our nitrates. The attitude of certain great financial interests on the production of nitrates at Muske Shoals is to be understood in the light of their interests in Chile. It's a small world that knits the fate and fortune of Chilean workers with the Tennessee River power development, Nebraska politics, Wall Street and especially the Guggenheims.

"Our" Interests in Chile

When the present occupant of the White House was over in the Department of Commerce he urged his Wall Street friends to acquire larger interests in Chilean nitrates. The Guggenheims acted on the suggestion. They have scarcely needed goading to interest themselves in the vast natural wealth of the countries to our south. In 1925 they acquired interests in Chilean nitrate to the sum of \$2,400,000. Within four weeks they sold almost \$100,000,000 worth of stocks on this investment to the suckers who sought succor on Wall Street in the days of the Coolidge Boom. In the days of the Hoover Gloom this is a startling revelation that would have held small interest for the American public seven years ago. The burden of carrying this watered stock has brought disaster to the Chilean nitrate industry and fierce unemployment and starvation to tens of thousands of Chilean workers. The Guggenheims are versatile fellows! They take their relaxation from the not too pleasant business of crushing foreign peoples by backing the international good-will flights of Lindbergh, by sponsoring international learning through the renowned Guggenheim Fellowships, or by taking on an ambassadorship to promote the *Friendly* relationships of governments.

For most of Chile's history her real government has consisted of an oligarchy of owners of great landed estates. The World War, breeder of universal discontent, brought agitation to Chile and, in 1920, resulted in the appearance of a reformist government under the presidency of Sr. Alessandri. True to the now familiar pattern, this reformist regime was overthrown and a military fascism under General Ibanez succeeded it. Ibanez became the staunch friend of North American financiers with the result that hundreds of millions of dollars poured into his "stable" Chile. The stable government of Ibanez ruthlessly suppressed all working-class protest. Under his benevolent regime Wall Street at least was safe. (From an investment of a mere \$15,000,000 in 1913, North American interests have grown to \$715,000,000 in 1932).

But again discontent raged and Ibanez was forced to give way to a

new president, Sr. Montero. Montero was not less zealous in the suppression of radicalism than his predecessor. World prices continued to fall. Inflated values burst like bubbles. Nitrate plants were closed down. Starving workers roamed the country in search of food. Reformism was completely discredited. Then again on June 4, 1932, the workers demanded a change.

Davila, The Juggler

This time the leaders of the new regime realized that they must speak the language of socialism. No sooner had they begun to talk in terms of the socialization of the nitrate industry and relieving the country of the terrific burdens of foreign finance, than the American ambassador, faithful watchdog of Guggenheim imperialism, began to bark ominously at the intruders trespassing upon the sacred domain of "our" investments. Knowing his function well enough, he apparently did not wait for instructions from "Washington." This brought reassurances from Sr. Davila, who regained power on June 17, that the new *junta* would maintain "respect for international agreements, without failing to secure rapidly modifications for public benefit." An obvious attempt to carry water on both shoulders!

The essentially sterile character of whatever socialism Sr. Davila professes may be exposed by his own words delivered at the Santiago Conference no more than two years ago:

"If there were any American imperialism, I should place myself in the very front rank to combat it. But if at any time such imperialism existed, there is no vestige of it left today."

Does not such a quotation merit a place in that pungent little volume entitled "O Yeah?"

In short, at the present time there is no encouragement from the ruling *junta* for those who believe that the Chilean situation demands the immediate socialization of wealth through the instrument of a genuine working-class government that will not hesitate to toss the Guggenheim yoke into the Pacific Ocean. If the Chilean workers fail to establish such a socialist order against the tremendous odds that confront them, it will not be appropriate for American workers to be severely critical as long as we are unable even

(Continued on Page 29)

The Gentle Art Of Service-Charging

by I. B. Long

NOW that President Hoover's mind is occupied with matters other than hoarding; now that Colonel Knox has left the front pages of the newspapers and "baby bonds" are no longer the theme of street-corner jokes; it might not be amiss to consider, somewhat seriously, this question of "hoarding," or at least a phase of that question which directly affects workers and out-of-workers.

Just the other day I met a friend of mine who for some time has been "on part time." He was, I knew, having a worse time than Congress trying to balance his budget. Well, to make a long story short, he had been up to the bank and he had "told 'em aplenty." It seems that for over a year now, because of cuts in pay, he has not been able to keep his bank balance continually above the \$100 danger line, so that his bank has been service-charging him \$1 a month—the interest charge on a \$200 loan.

He said that he started in by telling the President of the bank that wages, prices—yes, even the interest that the bank paid on deposits—had all been cut considerably since the crash, yet bankers were still service-charging at pre-depression rates. He wanted to know "How come?" "Why," said he, "it would be cheaper for me to borrow \$100 a year and leave it in the bank, for then I'd only have to pay \$6 per year. As it is I'm paying \$12 just to have you keep and use my money. You service-charge me just the same as you do a fellow who borrows my money from the bank. It isn't fair to service-charge a depositing depositor the same as you do a borrowing depositor, 'cause a bank can't loan out anything on a borrowed deposit—It's already one of the bank's loans—; whereas my deposit is one of them Hoover was talkin' about in his anti-hoarding speeches long last February when he told the hoarders that if they put their 'idle dollars' in the banks, the banks could loan out 8 to 10 dollars on each one they re-deposited. My bank account averages \$100 a month and is the basis for \$1,000 in loans—theoretically, of course. Yet I am service-charged \$1

We publish this article from I. B. Long, pseudonym of an instructor in economics in an important Eastern university, because it exposes the anti-hoarding ballyhoo of Hoover and discusses a problem which is important to those workers who are still fortunate enough to have bank accounts.—Editors.

every month I draw 'er below \$100. No more of that stuff for me. I've drawn my money out and from now on it stays out! Hoover can yell himself hoarse about hoarding for all I care, so long as them service charges aren't repealed."

I asked him what the bank president said to that.

"What could he say? He knows that they're rookin us, but he come back with the cry that the bank's not makin' any money. You're makin' a lot more than the farmer or us workers, says I; yet the farmer can't go out and service-charge his unprofitable crops as you fellows soak us so-called 'unprofitable accounts'—unprofitable till people began hoarding and then Hoover and the rest of you wise guys begun to find out that it's unprofitable not to have 'em. Well, here's one more 'unprofitable' one you won't have to bother yerselves about any more, 'cause I'm withdrawin' fer good, I says."

How many other workers, whose pay has been cut, have had discussions with their bankers similar to this one my friend had, I don't know. Most of those who have been forced to close their bank accounts to prevent being service-charged, I suspect, just withdrew their money without bothering to complain. But that such withdrawals have been important is beyond question. Even such a mild magazine as *The Business Week* back in February had the following to say. "It (a dollar withdrawn from a bank) is a dollar gone out of reserves, and a dollar out of reserves may mean \$5 to \$10 less lending power. . . . The \$1.3 billion now called hoarded could be expanded by the banks 5 to 10 times at least." And a little further on is a statement

that a part of the funds said to be hoarded is not hoarded at all, but "is in use as a result of service charges by banks, which have caused some small depositors to use cash instead of checks."

It is high time that we realized that banking is "affected with the public interest" and that banks are just as much local monopolies as public utilities are. What do I mean when I say that banks are local monopolies? I mean that, if one lives in New York, he can't keep his account in a Kansas bank because service charges are lower there, as he can buy Kansas wheat when the Kansas price is lower. One has to have his bank account near at hand.

Yet, given such a local monopoly of depositors, what do the local bankers do? The banks of a city or district, banded together in banking associations, agree upon a service charge by which all the banks of the city or district promise to abide—just a little gentleman's agreement. These banks obviously don't all have the same costs, yet they all have the same service charges which are supposed to be based purely on "costs." If there were "competition" between such banks, the banks with lower costs would have the lower service charges and the more inefficient banks would have to service-charge more, thereby losing customers to the more efficient banks and preventing "overbanking."

But no, the local bankers form their little conspiracy—banks are outside the anti-trust laws and the domain of the Federal Trade Commission—and charge "what the traffic will bear." No one interferes with their little game. Hoover didn't even mention service charges in his baby-bond, anti-hoarding ballyhoo. And the bank commissions, though they undoubtedly have the right to regulate bank rates (Supreme Court in *Noble State Bank vs. Haskell*), have not as yet undertaken to do so for some seemingly unknown reason.

The government has billions of dollars for bank relief, but not one word does one hear from the higher-ups about depositors' relief. One would have thought that the recent hoarding scare would have taught them something. But no, bank relief by depositors—depositors relieving the banks of their money—still continues and will undoubtedly be accelerated by the new two-cent tax on checks.

"Exultant Republicanism" By Hal

As Will Rogers remarked to me in the press room, "This convention has certainly laid an egg." It was the worst flop in history of "exultant republicanism." Everybody seemed to be anxious to keep away from the darn thing. The big boys stayed in Washington. They had a fair excuse because Congress was in session. I am a little surprised that the people of the United States could stand the effects of these two blah factories going full blast at the same time. But the depression seems to have trained us to endure almost anything.

Soon the speakers got tired of playing in an empty house. Most of the delegates were motor boating on the lake. So the Chairman sent out the National Committeemen to scour the Madison Street flop houses for recruits to fill the empty chairs. But no one could be tempted to enter at any price.

When I first heard that the convention was to be held in Chicago, I was somewhat astonished at the choice. One view of the assembled delegates, however, convinced me that they could not have chosen a more appropriate place than Al Capone's home town.

Senator L. J. Dickinson of Iowa, was picked to make the keynote speech. But he seemed away off key. He was so flat that the house walked out on him. He was thereupon quietly but firmly instructed to "Kick in, son." Which he did.

Representative Bertrand H. Snell was then called upon to whip up the assembled cohorts into some semblance of enthusiasm for Herbert Hoover, which everybody admitted was a difficult job. Being somewhat green at the game, I inquired as to who Mr. Snell is. I was politely informed that he is a retired cheese merchant of Potsdam, N. Y. I could not find out whether the merchant or the cheese was retired. Incidentally I might mention the fact that the temporary chairman who seemed to be suffering from a bad cold in the head, insisted upon pronouncing the name as Smell. This caused some slight confusion which was straightened out later on.

Although there were many holes in Mr. Mr. Snell's address, you could not say it was cheesy by any means, although it was much more pungent than that of his predecessor. Mr. Snell displayed a wonderful understanding of American history. He mentioned Abraham Lincoln and George Washington at least a dozen times without hesitation. When he mentioned the name of "Herbert" I could not help thinking that he would say, "Herbert Fleishacker," the J. P. Morgan of the

Hal's usual feature, Sling Shots, is replaced this month by this eye-witness report of the G. O. P. Convention.

EDITORS.

Pacific Coast, the man who is doing most to keep Mooney in jail, and the man who is behind Hoover. But the real King Herbert appeared to be too modest to accept, so Hoover's name was substituted.

The outburst was tremendous. The delegates just bounced out of their seats and rushed forward. I found out later that the speaker had timed his mention of Hoover with the call for dinner. This explained the stampede for the exits.

As the bedlam grew, Mr. Snell evidently became somewhat confused. Forgetting all about Hoover's training as a two car garage-keeper, his capacity as a great engineer, Snell suddenly put to sea. In fact it seemed to me that the whole convention was somewhat at sea, although Mr. Snell assured us that "Everywhere outside the republican party, is confusion and chaos." He called upon the people not to "strike down the pilot who keeps eternal vigil on the bridge of the ship of state." Things became so unsteady that I could almost feel the boat rocking as I murmured to myself, "Isn't four years bad enough? Must it be eternal?"

But Snell was not going to trust the fortunes of the Republican bark to the vagaries of the sea for long. He quickly put to shore. Hoover became an engineer again. "He first gets his facts and then he acts." So then and there I found out why Hoover hasn't done anything for the unemployed. *He hasn't got his facts yet.*

I got into an argument during the convention with J. S. Scott of Los Angeles, who called Hoover "a past master...in human engineering," when I asked him why he does not propose somebody who knows something about the *present*. But he didn't seem to catch on.

As spellbinder after spellbinder took the floor, the enthusiasm grew apace. One delegation waved a huge banner marked "Press on With Hoover." This message stirred me so deeply that I promised myself to bring it straight from the convention to the boys huddled on the headline and urge them to "Press on With Hoover."

Comparing Hoover to Marshal Foch, Governor Brucker of Michigan declared that the President like the French Marshal has as his motto, "I advance!" A few bonus marchers and unemployed workers stopped Brucker on the street

to ask how much Hoover would advance, but he hurried into his limousine without answering the question.

The general feeling among the delegates was that Hoover had slipped a good deal on the wet plank. He found himself so unsteady in fact that he was compelled to straddle the old thing. Of course Hoover's Boy Scouts received a good many boos from the booze hounds who were present, but the convention was really dry from the start, especially the speakers. So Senator Bingham told the boys to hurry, since the democrats would soon be in. What could the poor wets do but foam at the mouth?

Early in the convention Chairman Snell lost his hickory gavel. Patrick Henry, the aged janitor of the Stadium, was hiding in the basement, mumbling, "Give me liberty (from this bedlam), or give me death." He finally unearthed a bung-starter, which was a poor joke on the defeated wets. Someone called it a bunk-starter, which is not so bad considering.

Since everybody refused the nomination for vice president, Dolly Gann was nominated again and elected. Charlie Curtis promised to keep the office in good shape for her.

Former Governor Alvan T. Fuller of Sacco and Vanzetti fame, was mentioned for the position of vice president. Not a bad choice if they had given him Governor Rolph of California as a running mate. What a pretty pair that would have made? But Hoover thought he could do just as well if not better. So he steamrolled them out of the way.

Governor Rolph did not seem to mind Mooney's imprisonment at Sunkist San Quentin at all. In fact he was the life of the party. He invited the delegates to the coming Olympics at Los Angeles to participate in such athletic events as the wide straddle, fancy hurdling and throwing the bull. A Black Bag Race around a miniature Teapot Dome was to be provided for the Republicans and a Tin Box Race for the Democrats. Free transportation was assured on the Hoover bandwagon.

The convention covered all the main issues thoroughly. Nothing was omitted except a few minor points such as unemployment, child labor, the bonus, Russian recognition, old age pensions, anti-labor injunctions, etc. The delegates left the convention confident that "exultant republicanism" would triumph once more, while the band played the stirring strains of "For the Yanks are, starving, the Yanks are starving everywhere."

Industrial News . . .

Wage Cutting In the Anthracite

By FRED GENDRAL

Claiming that they were unable to continue paying existing wages and threatening to close down their mines altogether, independent producers of anthracite have taken the lead in forcing upon their employees various forms of wage cuts, called "voluntary donations to the company." Some companies, like the Kingston Coal Company, ask a direct release from paying the miners and other employees 25 percent of their wages; these companies promise to return that pay in the winter, when business will be better (?). Other companies ask for two or more (usually more) days' pay per month. This, they say, is necessary to keep the company from bankruptcy. Among the latter is the Sandy Run Coal Co. This procedure of indirect cuts is going on throughout the anthracite region. The press, the operators, and union officials, who ultimately sanction these proposals, have little or nothing to say concerning them.

Another method of cutting wages is to re-open a closed mine under a new scale. This, technically, is always in violation of the agreement between miners and operators, which was hailed in 1930, when signed, as a great victory for the miners. The new wage scales and working agreements are so worded technically as not to violate the miner-operator agreement, which in reality has broken down and been repeatedly violated by the operators. Thus the Temple Coal Company, under lease by the Northumberland Coal Co. will reopen soon, but its 800 men will receive pay by car only. Since many miners depended upon yardage for a large part of their earnings, they will feel the new scale when they receive their first pay. It is true that an increase in car-rates is promised.

Among the "re-openers" with a new scale is also the Jermy Coal Company of Avoca. The new scale provides for a cut of 22 percent. It is surprising how many companies promise steady work if the miners accept cuts, or donate a number of days to the company.

While some re-open, more shut down. Ewen Colliery, of the Pittston Coal Company in Dupont, closed down, thus throwing almost 2000 men out of work. The Stanton Colliery of the Glen Alden Coal Company was also closed for the summer. This mine was the one where most of the active "insurgents" worked.

Out of 642 collieries in the anthracite region, the State Department of Labor

reports more than 180 idle during the month of April. The number has risen since.

The Executive Board of District One, United Mine Workers, recently expelled 34 active "insurgents" for periods ranging from five to 15 years. The officials say that these expelled active trade unionists had violated the agreement when they participated in the recent "outlaw strike." The men, however, claim that the company violated the agreement, and that besides, they acted under orders from their local unions. Thomas Maloney is one of those expelled for 15 years. All have filed appeal with the International Executive Board. If they receive no justice there, they will go to the civil courts, where they expect more justice than from the leaders of the miners' union.

A concerted drive has been started by business men, police, and landowners to stop idle miners from picking coal. Some miners have sold such coal and are now being fined and jailed for being coal "bootleggers."

Luzerne, Pa.

We Are Waiting

By C. D. J.

I thought that another wage cut would wake up the workers and make them anxious to do something. As a matter of fact it has had just the opposite effect. It has made them more discouraged. Even those upon whom I was depending feel that the situation here is hopeless for the present.

However, we are continuing our work. We keep hammering away at organization, pointing out that this is the only solution for our problems. But the cards are stacked against us. Those who are working, and they are few, are afraid of losing their jobs if they become too active, and we who are not working are afraid of not getting back again.

The new system of production introduced in the Hockonun mill has created a terrible situation. Now all the weaving is done in three mills. Take the mill where I work, nights, for instance. There are three weavers here for every loom. The weaving in the American and New England mills of the same company has been discontinued, which means that one mill is now doing the work formerly done by three. And at present there are only nine looms running in this mill.

With this new policy has come drastic cuts in wages as well as man power. On June 6 a 15 per cent cut was intro-

duced throughout the plant. This was a general reduction effecting everyone. Not satisfied with this they also made sweeping reductions in the weaving department amounting to about 40 per cent. The price list for weaving in the Hockonun mill today is lower than it was before the war. A weaver, today, running two looms on fancy worsted, 45 picks, can make 19 cents an hour on each loom providing the work is very good and he has no stoppage.

We are waiting for some sign of rebellion from the workers. No one likes it, of course. But, with so many on the street out of jobs, we are afraid to act. We, who are willing to make a move, feel that if we do, those on the street will take our places gladly, so that action would be futile.

As I have said, the situation is terrible. I am watching and talking and waiting. This is not the last reduction. There will be more.

New England

Prosperity Corner Too Large

By I. B.

The depression has at last caught up with me. Up until February I did not feel it so much. But the 10 per cent reduction is not nearly the largest factor in my case. You are probably familiar with wage schedules on the railroads and know that road men are in a way piece workers.

Before February, I was on what is probably the highest mileage job on the Harrisburg division, making around 3,800 miles every month. But since the middle of February this mileage has been dropping until now it is practically down to 2,600 miles. That, in addition to the 10 percent reduction in wages, has knocked me off my feet. Had Charlie Schwab's prosperity corner not been such a large corner I might have been able to get around it. But it was too large and I must get my breath now.

Since my last letter conditions have been getting worse and worse. On the Reading they are cutting off help right and left, and if they don't soon stop there won't be anyone left.

I was very much interested in the account in LABOR AGE about the Active Workers' Conference. Will you see that someone keeps me posted about such conferences in the future so that I can help financially.

Just as soon as I can work myself out of the hole that dishonest bankers and the capitalist system have got me in I

shall make good my pledges to Brookwood and the C.P.L.A. Of course, what I have promised and intend to do will not put either Brookwood or the C.P.L.A. on easy street, but at least it is what I can do. And this is what we workers must do, sacrifice for the organizations that are helping us fight our battles. Harrisburg, Pa.

Americanization

By G. R.

The workers of this town are nearly all immigrants. They came from agricultural regions in the old country. When they arrived in America they became skilled workers in industry.

From their meager wages they saved enough to buy a piece of land or a house with a yard. They kept the land almost idle until the crisis came. Then they began planting potatoes, tomatoes and other vegetables and breeding chickens and pigs. Because of this they have not experienced great suffering like some of their less fortunate brothers in other sections.

The old people are very angry with their children. They had experience in the class struggle in the old country and look upon the government as their natural enemy. Their children have become good Americans with a capitalist outlook and defend the government against the arguments of their parents. Many of them, indeed, are very faithful to the present system and any one who speaks of radical reform is quickly pointed out for ridicule and abuse.

I had quite a job convincing them that I am not a Communist but a CPLA'er. I explained our program to them but they don't understand anything of that sort. They believe that all radicals are Communists.

However, they are optimistic and are patiently waiting for a new prosperity. Until they lose hope little can be done with them.

Westerly, R. I.

Workers' Education Conferences

By HARRY NILSSON

The present chaos in the labor movement is also carried over into the workers' educational movement. There is not in this country, as in Europe, a widespread interest in the movement among the workers themselves. There the workers are actively participating in the promotion of their own educational movement, and at conference it is the workers who do all the planning for further activity and the gathering of material which

they need for their studies. In this country it is the teachers who do the planning.

In this country emphasis is placed on classes and lectures. But this method leaves out the smaller localities and the workers who have far to travel. It is also costly to rent a hall and to employ teachers.

In Europe, especially in the Scandinavian countries, the method of self-education is being emphasized. This method functions through "Study Circles." A group of 7 or 8 workers, without teachers, meets in the workers' homes and go over the problems which we in this country are taught in classes or by learned lecturers. The problem of books is solved through traveling libraries, and all information and outlines for the studies are handled through a central bureau.

Many workers in this country regard the training they receive as a stepping stone for personal advancement. Many look upon the months they spend at the residential schools and summer schools as an escape from the class struggle. Brookwood, for example, receives students who are green in the movement. Instead, it should be the final school before entering actively into work of the labor movement. Too many labor students become sophisticated and sooner or later land in the parlor-intellectual class.

Seeing all this, we believe that all the worker students should try to find a way by which we can build a Workers' Educational movement. We must make the worker students a part of a mass movement. We must prove that education is an important factor in the class struggle.

With this in view we therefore suggest that all worker students in various states form committees and call upon all groups interested in workers' education. The next step would be to call a conference in a central city and invite all labor organizations, language groups, Y. W. C. A. groups and others.

If you are interested write to Harry Nilsson, National Chairman of the Brookwood Fellowship, 986 Jefferson Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

During the last week of July a group from the Brookwood Fellowship will make a tour of eastern Pennsylvania, visiting the textile centers and the anthracite coal regions for the purpose of stimulating interest in workers' education. Harry Nilsson will be the leader of this group. A one-act play dealing with workers' education is being rehearsed as the feature of the tour.

—Editors.

The Illinois Coal Strike

By BILL STOEFFELS

Some interesting developments in the strike have taken place. District 11, Indiana, is our next neighbor. What happens there is of greatest importance to us. They have had the same scale of wages as district 12 for many years, and their contract with the operators, like ours, expired April 1. In this strike their policy has also been essentially the same as ours. There are a considerable number of strip mines in Indiana, which have been working under the old scale pending settlement. Two or three weeks ago their scale committee renewed negotiations with the operators. The matter was put in the hands of a subcommittee of three miners and three operators. About nine days ago this subcommittee agreed to a reduction of 34½ per cent, and their proposition also degraded the miners' condition otherwise. The six hours were not even mentioned. Representatives of J. L. Lewis had assisted in an advisory capacity in making this agreement.

Instead of putting this proposed agreement before the entire scale committee for adoption or rejection, the officials of district 11 proceeded to make arrangements to submit it to a referendum of the members. To steal the referendum would have been a simple matter—they are adepts at that.

Fortunately this scheme didn't work out as the officials had expected. The Indiana miners, and particularly the strip miners, raised a tremendous fuss. They administered a good thrashing to one of J. L.'s representatives and, what's even better, they held protest meetings all over the District demanding a convention. The indignation was so great that the corrupt officials had to secede. They submitted the entire scale to the scale committee which promptly rejected it.

Two weeks ago our scabby governor, Louis Emmerson, encouraged by what was going on in Indiana got the Illinois miners' and operators' scale committees together to also make an agreement. They negotiated for about 10 days, but when the thing in Indiana went kapunk they permanently adjourned. The intention was (at least of the operators) to give us also a 34½ per cent cut. In these latest Illinois negotiations the miners' sub scale committee, composed of Walker and Moulin, have turned down our demands to no increase in wages. All they demanded is six hours, which theoretically would cut our income 35 per cent, leaving a basic wage of \$4.57 for six hours; whereas the operators offer 4 dollars for eight hours.

My impression about these events is

that the operators and corrupt officials in the union have merely miscalculated the degree of starvation required under which the miners will submit to their plans.

The extraordinary resistance to a cut put up by the Indiana strip miners, who are working, indicates what must happen later on account of the separate agreement policy: that is, necessity will compel those striking to scab on those now working. J. L. Lewis, popping up in Indiana affair, is merely a part of the Lewis-Walker feud. Lewis's logic is this: a reduction put over in Indiana must bring an equivalent reduction in Illinois. If Walker then opposes this inevitable reduction, the operators will wreck him; if he assents, the Illinois miners will do it. It is an encircling movement Lewis is executing. He just

renewed the northern West Virginia scale of 22½ cents per ton, the lowest I ever heard of—union or non-union. He just signed an agreement with Missouri operators calling for wages considerably lower than what we would get after a 34½ per cent cut.

The following resolution I introduced at a mass meeting here. It was adopted unanimously.

"Whereas the present industrial and commercial stagnation is entirely due to the low purchasing power of the workers, and can only be remedied by the workers receiving all, or a greater share of their product, and

"Whereas suffering from unemployment today is enormous and that it is only through a reduction in working hours that the unemployed can be given jobs, and

"Whereas the living and working conditions of the miners are already worse than that of slaves; therefore be it

"Resolved that we, the miners of Locals 721, 822, 101, 3761 of Pana, Illinois, assembled on June 12, 1932, emphatically condemn those officials of the U.M.W.A. who favor a further reduction in the Miners's wages, or who consent to the continuation of the old 8 hour day. We declare these officials enemies of Labor and of the public; and be it further

"Resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the Sub-District, the President of the District, the President of the International U.M.W.A., to the "Illinois Miner," to the "U.M.W. Journal," to the "Federated Press," and to Governor Louis Emmerson."

Foreign News Notes

FROM BRUENING TO ??

By MAX SEYDEWITZ

(Translated from *Kampfsignal*)

On Friday we said here that Bruening's fall was imminent. On Saturday Chancellor Bruening, in a speech to the foreign press, emphatically denied the possibility of a crisis in the government. On Sunday Hindenburg came home from Neudeck, and on Monday the Bruening government was overthrown — overthrown by President Hindenburg, for whose re-election to the presidency the Bruening government had put forth all its reserves, and for whom all Social-Democratic workers had voted in all good faith because their leaders had assured them that Hindenburg was the only stronghold against fascism.

Immediately after the fall of the Bruening government, this "stronghold against fascism" carried on lengthy negotiations with fascist leader Hitler in regard to the formation of the new cabinet, and left not the slightest doubt that in his new cabinet he would cast aside the Social-Democracy; that in making it the transition to a complete fascist regime, he would look to the National-Socialists for support of a cabinet which had been hoisted into the saddle by the "political generals." The Social-Democracy, which had swallowed everything so meekly and so faithfully, which had exerted all its energy to again make Hindenburg president, found itself summarily kicked aside. In the position which it had occupied it saw placed the National-Socialists, who were supposed to have been ruined by Hindenburg in the presidential elections, and who, during

these elections, did not treat the old fellow in any too friendly a manner.

By this act, Hindenburg has taught the lesson to the leaders of the Social-Democrats that in the class struggle it is not well to depend on the good behavior of an old field marshal, but rather upon the actual realities of power among the people, which the Social-Democracy, through its political policy during the last few years, has not only trifled away, but has actually helped the Nazis build up for themselves.

Hindenburg had his new cabinet ready in short order. Monday he sent Bruening packing and on Tuesday he had already proposed his new Chancellor. On Thursday the new government was as good as completed; it represents most admirably the ruling forces behind the scenes—a coalition of the military, the Junkers, and capitalist-monopoly, a government of counts, barons, and lords.

The incident of the fall of the Bruening government illustrates the present situation into which the Government-by-Emergency-Decree, with the tacit consent of the Social-Democracy, has maneuvered the German people. The most liberal constitution in the world has been thrown aside. No longer popular representation but the will of one person removes and appoints governments. The constitution states very definitely and explicitly that the representatives of the people shall determine the fate of governments. But as to the practice—the strong vote of confidence which the Bruening government received before Pen-tecost did not hinder President Hindenburg from dispersing the Bruening Cabinet in spite of the vote of the people's

representatives in the Reichstag.

And Bruening himself, whom both the Social-Democracy and Hindenburg held out as a fighter for democracy and against fascism, should have shown to the Social-Democratic proletariat that in the critical moment he could prove the correctness of what the Social-Democratic leaders had been advertising as the basis of their policy of toleration. After Hindenburg's pronouncement it was up to Chancellor Bruening to demand the convocation of the Reichstag and to ask the representatives of the people to decide whether his government should step out or remain. If Bruening wanted to lead the fight against fascism, then he should have come out openly in the Reichstag against such unconstitutional one-man rule and against the reactionary forces hiding behind the President, against the "political generals," who want to clear the road entirely for fascism.

Bruening did not essay to fight; Bruening capitulated without any fight at all; and this capitulation, even had Bruening ever had any sincere intentions of fighting fascism, proves that the working class cannot rely at the critical moment either upon bourgeois confederates or upon powerful ministers, but upon its own fighting strength, which the false policies of the Social-Democracy have unfortunately weakened in the past few years.

The immediate cause of the fall of the Bruening government was not indeed the heavy burden put on the masses by the new emergency decree, which was to be expected, but the provision written into the decree on the demand of the Minister of Labor, that the unemployed

should be settled on large eastern estates which were yielding no profits to anyone. This was characterized as "Bolshevism" by the Junkers, and because of this "Bolshevism" the Neudecker conspirators condemned the Bruening government to death. The more fundamental cause of the fall of the Bruening government is the fact that because of the further aggravation of the crisis, the actual ruling forces in Germany wanted to take the government into their own hands and apply stronger and more reckless measures against the lower classes in order to carry out the capitalist solution of the crisis. *The new Government is an alliance of the Junkers, the military, and big business, which strives for open union with the fascists and is ready to make the broadest concessions to them.*

The new government has no majority in the Reichstag. It hopes to be tolerated by the Zentrum (Catholic Party) and is working energetically for the toleration of the Nazis. But the latter are only prepared to sell themselves very dearly. They demand the repeal of the SA (Hitler's brown army) suppression* and new Reichstag elections.

The repeal of the SA suppressive measures, and any other demands inimical to the people in general, would readily be granted to the Nazis by the new government; the only difficulty is the demand for the dissolution of the Reichstag. The forces which have now taken over the government still have precedence over the Nazis, whom they regard, and want to use, as auxiliary forces. After the Reichstag elections, when the Nazis would have a much stronger representation in the Reichstag, this precedence would go to them; and neither the new, prominent "political generals" nor the other forces supporting the new government, particularly want to see this happen. Because of this fact, the new government will postpone the dissolution of the Reichstag as long as possible; but whether it can succeed, by retaining even a semblance of parliamentary methods, is extremely doubtful. Therefore, it is very likely that the new government, which, contrary to the general attitude of the press, does not regard itself as a transition regime but wants to keep the business of the government in its hands for a long time, *will supersede the parliament entirely and step forth openly as a dictatorship which, in spite of its parliamentary cloak, it actually is.*

The attitude for the working class to take towards this government is clear. *It must fight it by presenting a united front of the entire proletariat.* Hindenburg and the new government have categorically declined to tolerate the Social-

Democracy any longer, and the Social-Democratic Party leadership has declared that it confronts the present government with the strongest distrust. To be sure, the challenge somewhat resignedly issued by Social-Democratic leaders to the forces of the Right to do better if they can, hardly seems to be in the fighting spirit which must now animate the entire working class. But in spite of this, the fact that the Social-Democracy has been driven into the opposition, means a closer drawing together of the proletariat; and in the face of this change of government in Germany, we must fight with greater passion for the achievement of the present political slogan of the Socialist Workers' Party: *The building of a solid phalanx for the struggle of all workers' organizations, to fight against fascist terror, against further wage cuts, against further attacks on present social legislation, and against the further crushing of the working class back into a state of barbarism.*

Negotiations Between the British Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party

By WM. BEEDIE

Acting upon the basis of a resolution adopted at the last Annual Conference of the I.L.P., negotiations have been going on between representatives of the L.P. and the I.L.P. The resolution adopted by the I.L.P. stated that: "Whilst not desiring to disaffiliate from the Labor Party, it realizes that affiliation can only be continued if a satisfactory revision of the Standing Orders be obtained."

To the surprise of the I.L.P. delegation however, George Landsbury, representing the Labor Party, declined to enter into any discussion of proposed revisions of the Standing Orders. Finally it was agreed that the I.L.P. representatives submit their proposals to the L.P. National Executive and to the Parliamentary Party. At a specially convened meeting of the Parliamentary Party on May 24, the following decision was made: "After considerable discussion the Party came to the conclusion that it could not undertake to revise its present Standing Orders as a condition precedent to the admission of the I.L.P. Members to the Parliamentary Labor Party; but as the Standing Orders have not been reviewed in this session it proposes their reconsideration."

One June 2, the following statement was issued by the Parliamentary Party: "That this Party, having re-examined the Standing Orders, is of opinion that in the present circumstances no alterations are desirable or necessary." The possibility of the necessity of review of the

Standing Orders is raised in the statement.

Note: As we go to press we learn that at a special conference called for July 30, 31, the National Administrative Council will propose re-organization of the I.L.P. as a completely independent political force.

Fenner Brockway, chairman of the I. L. P. and James Maxton, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the I. L. P. signed the statement issued by the National Council of the I. L. P. which states that the executive of the Labor Party has rejected the proposal of the National Council of the Independent Labor Party that four representatives of each organization should meet with the object of settling differences between them.

The executive of the Labor Party insists that the I. L. P. accept the present Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labor Party before any discussion takes place. This, the National Administrative Council of the I. L. P. parliamentary group is not prepared to do.

The Rise Of the Hill Farmers

(Continued from page 9)

be done by establishing a clearing house to which the farmer can bring his produce and at which the worker can buy it. This will enable the farmer to get a market, the worker to get fresh vegetables at lower prices, and will help to abolish the company store.

More and more farmers are coming into the League every day. Their children are singing the International and the Red Flag in the school houses where they meet. Plays, dealing with their problems and the problems of the workers, their brothers, are being put on in the different townships in the county. These plays are going over big, the chief problem being to find a hall large enough to accommodate all the people who come to see them.

This Fourth of July will be different from any the farmers have ever had. Whereas before they had patriotic speeches delivered by local politicians, flags, etc., this Fourth they will have radical speakers. They will protest against their bondage instead of celebrating their independence. They will sing different songs. They will all come out with baskets of food for an all-day meeting. And the boys belonging to the League will play ball for them in the evening.

Something great is happening to the farmers and workers in the hills of North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia—they are rising from their bondage.

* This, of course, has been granted since the article was written.—Editor's Note.

New Books . . .

TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA

Toward Soviet America, by William Z. Foster. Published by Coward McCann, Inc. Price \$2.50.

THE central purpose" of his book says William Z. Foster, "is to explain to the oppressed and exploited masses of workers and poor farmers how, under the leadership of the Communist Party, they can best protect themselves now, and in due season cut their way out of the capitalist jungle to Socialism."

With this declared purpose in mind, we have a legitimate right to expect from the author, who is the chief public spokesman of the Communist Party in America, and its leader in the labor movement, a practical program for American workers and farmers here and now, some real remedies for their immediate and pressing problems. Aside from an analysis of the evils of American capitalism and a glowing picture of the achievements of the Soviet Union there is not even the beginning of an attempt to deal practically and soberly with present problems of the American workers. We are complacently assured that "the capitalist system is in decline and is historically being replaced by a new social order, Socialism . . . Revolutionary forces, under the leadership of the Communist International are gathering to sweep it (capitalism) away."

It is dangerous indeed for the workers to be lulled into false security with such sanguine generalities. What are the stark facts? The labor movement, with slight exceptions, is in a state of the most deplorable passivity and weakness. In the face of nation-wide unemployment and starvation, in the face of an orgy of wage slashing and speed up, the workers have not yet shown any widespread and effective resistance. "The revolutionary upsurge," of which Foster speaks, is either in his own head, or in the ranks of a few newly-born, radical intellectuals for whose consumption the book is chiefly intended. While Foster correctly holds the leadership of the A. F. of L. responsible for the weakness of the labor movement, he fails to point out that the Communist Party must share in this responsibility. There was a time, when in spite of the A. F. of L. leadership, the Communist Party did rally workers successfully in struggle in Passaic, Gastonia, New Bedford, and when it was able to build a powerful movement within the A. F. of L. for amalgamation and for a labor party. But that was before the present divisive and sectarian policy was

adopted, and not today.

The fact is that the forces of Fascist reaction are growing apace, throughout Europe, in Japan and in the United States as well. Unfortunately the weakness of the labor movement portends a period of black repression under a Fascist regime. He is no true friend of labor who does not warn the workers in time and effectively of this bitter prospect but seeks rather to hide it with empty boasting and balldhoo.

"Over the world system of capitalism there grows a brooding fear of revolution," says Foster, which he proves to the hilt by quoting Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., to the effect that "the yachts of society millionaires have invariably been anchored in places where their owners could board them on short notice." Why a respectable bourgeois publisher should publish such a fearsome book as Foster's at the present moment, is not explained. Unfortunately the fact is that never in any past depression was reaction so firmly in the saddle as it is today.

How to meet this situation effectively, how to reunite and rebuild the left wing in the American labor movement, how to fight against labor racketeers and corruptionists, how to organize a functioning and powerful movement of the unemployed, how to unite labor politically and industrially against the oncoming menace of Fascist reaction—to these questions, Foster gives no satisfactory answer. As a book for workers, it therefore completely fails to achieve its "central purpose." One must be familiar with the political evolution of William Z. Foster, with his astounding leaps from one position to the opposite, to understand and appreciate fully "Toward Soviet America." The man who was an ardent syndicalist later supported the sale of Liberty Bonds during the World War (See Senate Committee Hearings on Steel Strike). The man who declared, "Because of this policy (of dual unionism) thousands of the very best worker militants have been led to desert the mass labor organizations and to waste their efforts in vain (sic) efforts to construct ideally conceived unions designed to replace the old ones" (Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement), now calls upon the workers to support the Trade Union Unity League, which according to Foster, "is composed of both revolutionary oppositions and industrial unions, with its center of gravity in the latter." Thus the Communists are today attempting to build their own unions in coal, steel, textiles, shoe, needle, and practically all

other important industries. They have deserted the old unions for the most part, or are simply boring from within to split away a chunk for their own dual organizations. They have their own official trade union center in opposition to the A. F. of L., namely the Trade Union Unity League, affiliated with the international center, the Red International of Labor Unions.

It was not so long ago that Foster declared that the American workers were rapidly becoming "bourgeoisified," if you know what that means. Today, the fashion has changed and Foster becomes enthusiastic about the "revolutionary upsurge" and "widespread radicalization."

At one time, Foster propounded the theory that Gompers and his associates in the officialdom of the A. F. of L. were actually revolutionary radicals, cleverly hiding their radicalism behind conservative phrases. Today Foster speaks of the "Fascization of the A. F. of L." and declares that, "Gradually the A. F. of L. and railroad unions are becoming Statized."

The man who once declared that "One of the greatest services of Lenin to the American left wing trade union movement was to help rid itself of that deadly leftist sickness manifesting itself as dual unionism," the man who inveighed against the "un-Marxian position that the trade unions were practically a conspiracy against the working class," that man has today completely abandoned Lenin and Leninism.

Neither Leninism nor accuracy trouble Foster very much. He speaks glibly of "the spreading mass influence of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League." Yet the April 1932 Communist publishes in the Resolution of the Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the following: "the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove. This is to be seen . . . in the still extremely weak state of the revolutionary trade unions . . . in the marked decline of the circulation of the Daily Worker; in the 100 percent fluctuation of Party membership. The Party is still isolated from the masses of workers." Neither in Pittsburgh, Passaic, Gastonia, Harlan, Paterson or Illinois, is there to be found any considerable evidence of Communist influence or mass support. In most cases the traces of the so-called "revolutionary unions" have completely disappeared. The steady decline of Communist influence is shown by the declining votes in recent elections in Germany, France,

England and throughout Europe and by its general decadence throughout the world.

One is particularly struck by Foster's complete immersion in foreign terms and phraseology. The book is practically an English rehash of recent theses of the Communist International, written many miles from our American scene. Names so well known in America as Rubenstein, Manuisky, and Milyutin are quoted with authority. The miner in Kentucky and the textile worker of North Carolina are expected to understand such terms as: "plenum," "Social-fascist," "cadres," etc. But this aloofness from the American scene expresses itself not only in the terms used, but in the essential ideas in Foster's book.

One finds a mechanical and thoughtless transfer of ideas which may have been valid in some given country, at some given time, but which are utterly at variance with conditions today in the United States.

The A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, according to Foster, have become "fascized," and "statized." No doubt certain leaders of these organizations will and actually do play a reactionary and even fascist role in the service of the ruling class. But to condemn millions of workers within these organizations who are fighting daily against capitalism, to call them "fascists" or "social-fascists," is to fly in the face of facts, and to insure for the Communists the isolation from the broad mass of the workers, of which they sometimes so frankly complain.

Everything is here laid out for the American workers and farmers strictly according to the Russian blueprint. Let anyone deviate at his peril. The "soviets," "commissars," "cadres," "red guards," "presidiums," "Kolkhoz," "sovkhoz," and "TSOS" are waiting on the doorstep for adoption, while such significant and really American revolutionary phenomena as the Seattle Unemployed Citizens League, the West Virginia Labor Party, the bonus march, the Father Cox march on Washington, the ferment in the ranks of the A. F. of L. are either condemned or overlooked with contempt. Verily Comrade Foster does not see the forest for the trees.

Although Foster has unfolded vividly and meticulously the road to the American revolution, one must seek elsewhere for practical guidance in accomplishing the tasks which remain before us—to unite and build the left wing to revive the labor movement, to build up an effective movement of the unemployed, to unite the American workers politically into a labor party against the parties of big business, as the basis for any

real revolutionary movement in the United States.

BENJAMIN MANDEL

GROPING IN THE JUNGLE

Laughing in the Jungle. By Louis Adamic. Harper's. \$3.00.

BACK home in Carniola, where Louis Adamic spent his boyhood, one often heard tales of that fabulous country, the United States. Carniola is one of the tiny states which formerly belonged to Austria but is now a part of Jugoslavina. During the years between 1890 and 1914 it furnished many of the immigrants who came from south-eastern Europe to work in the mines and steel mills of the United States. It was from these emigrants, who had returned to Carniola with pockets full of money which they flourished at the inns, with flashy clothes, with presents for the folks back home, that Adamic heard marvelous tales of the land where prosperity was the order of the day.

But from the class conscious Peter Molek he heard another side of the story. Molek, too, had gone to America looking for good times, but he had returned broken in health and penniless. It was from him that the boy first heard that America was a "jungle." Indeed, Molek showed Adamic a copy of Upton Sinclair's book of that name, and the idea made a lasting impression on him; even though at that time he was unable to understand the significance of the title. Later, after Adamic had himself come to the "jungle," he writes:

"His (Peter Molek's) view of the country, as I remember it now, was one-sided, bitter. He told me of accidents in the mines and iron-foundries which he had witnessed or of which he had merely read or heard; of labor upheavals; of powerful capitalists who owned immense industries and whom he sketched as 'the beasts in the jungle.' . . ."

Curiously enough, although Adamic seems to reject the idea that America is as black as it had been painted, there is nothing in the book being reviewed here to refute it except his own statement. He himself managed more or less to escape the fearful consequences of life in the "jungle," but almost all of those whom he encounters along the way have been caught and destroyed. This is one of the strange paradoxes to be found in this book: that is, that the author seems often to draw illogical conclusions from excellently recorded and carefully observed facts.

Adamic came to America when he was fifteen. He had been involved in a revolutionary demonstration against the Austrian government, and left the country more or less in disgrace. In line with

his general disclaimer of any particular feeling or ardor, he says he felt no real sentiment for the movement, but that he was in it for the excitement of the thing.

With an amazing maturity the boy began to be aware of the enormous inconsistencies and contrasts between rich and poor in the United States almost from the moment of his arrival. In his mind he compared this country with his own home and felt that whereas life in Carniola was consistent with the country itself, in America the strands of life were so hopelessly confused that there was no unity of any kind. He started to study the personalities around him, the broken, the frustrated, the fantastic creatures produced by the American mode of life. It became clear to him that in order for the sensitive person to maintain himself intact, he must not allow the confusion and misery of the "jungle" to enter deeply into his consciousness; he must become a bystander. Adamic had come to America pre-determined not to let it "get" him and break him as it had so many of his countrymen. Yet, it seems to me that at this point, when he decides not to be a participant in the struggle of the people in the country of his adoption, it has already "got" him. That the potentialities for fullest growth were stunted in this adolescent who felt that escape from the realities surrounding him was the only possible path, seems borne out by his subsequent development.

In spite of his determined objectivity, in spite of the cynicism which made him react against the "unsound, romantic, verging on the absurd" idealism of his friend, Lonie Burton, there hardly seems a moment when Adamic was unaware of the class struggle. It was this awareness which produced his book, "Dynamite," even though in the foreword its author disclaims partisanship, stating only that his sympathies are with labor. Out of this awareness have come large sections of "Laughing in the Jungle," too. His splendid pictures of the "Hunkie" or "Bohunk" laborers, who, like himself, come originally from southeastern Europe, are a real contribution to the understanding of that large group. The moving description of the simple "Bohunk woman," Mrs. Tanasich, bears witness to an understanding of the helpless misery of exploited workers. He gives much attention to evidences of class war in his detailed accounts of the I. W. W. struggle on the West coast during the 1920's, a struggle which sapped the health of Lonie Burton. As a matter of fact, so overwhelming are the evidences of Adamic's inner participation in the under dog's struggle, that my guess would be that the peasant "Bohunk"

had betrayed the Mencken-made American out of his avowed disinterestedness.

For, having decided that in America "by far the most precious possession a sensitive and intelligent person can have is an active sense of humor," he understandably turns to Mencken as the foremost laughter in the "jungle." No doubt, there are few of us who at one time did not laugh over Mencken's strophes, but it is none the less obvious that Mencken's biting, ironic laughter is decidedly that of an actor who has felt himself a part of the mad scene at which he laughs. Mencken's cynicism may be an easy escape from the tragic inconsistencies of capitalist America, but at one time at any rate, it was the hearty, full-bodied irony which alone seems possible under the circumstances. That Adamic tried to laugh, that he actually saw in the emasculation of a man like the army captain, Blakelock, or the absurdity of Steve Radin food for a kind of amusement, are perhaps not to be questioned. But I doubt that with his more restrained nature, he was ever able to feel much real, body-shaking merriment. And when he states, as he does in the epilog, that "of late I find it hard to laugh at things and conditions in the jungle, although I know it is essentially ridiculous," an almost certain feeling arises in the mind of the reader that Adamic had been engaging in a considerable amount of rationalizing in his role of amused bystander.

But I have certain ideas about the future development of Adamic, of whom it has been said that he aspired to be the "reporter" of the labor movement. It seems to me that with the continuation of things as they are, there will be an inevitable trend away from the laughing gentleman and towards a fighting worker, who will take his place at the side of his brother "Bohunks." For that reason it is with some hesitation that I quote here his own excellent analysis of himself, "almost smug" in 1928. This apologia is in itself so revealing that I believe it will have to stand as the clue to Louis Adamic until such time as he finds that it is no longer the man whom he wishes to present to the world. He writes:

"I thought America had scarcely touched me. I liked to think that I had not let her touch me in any vital or devastating way, as she has touched Mrs. Tansich, Lenard, Steve, Blakelock, and the others. She was neither dragging me down nor pulling me up. I 'played safe,' as a sensible adventurer should do in a jungle. I laughed and stayed sane and healthy. To Upton Sinclair, as he told me, I was not as admirable as the emotional, impulsive Lonie Burton, who, without knowing what it was all about,

had plunged into the jungle with the idea of clearing it and transforming it into an idyllic place, but the jungle had licked Lonie, and his defeat benefited no one, while I was still here, well and strong. Many people envied Steve Radin, who had become part of the jungle and grown in it, but he, too, had been defeated in it."

M. HOWE.

REAL PLANNING REQUIRES POWER

"A Planned Society," by George Soule.

SOULE tells us toward the close of his work that "This book has been written to explain planning, to convince readers of the need for it, and to explore some of its conditions and its possibilities."

The explanation of planning is quite successful, but the analysis of its conditions and possibilities—in a word, how we may get it—is far from satisfactory.

That the 1919-29 era of business prosperity was by no means as rosy for millions of Americans as some have pictured it, that those who wanted to change conditions for the better were thwarted and defeated at every turn, and that liberals had no remedy for modern problems but words, words, words, is shown quite conclusively.

That the American government secured substantial results through a limited program of social planning in war time, and that the Russian Soviet government is using social planning most effectively in building its industries in peace time is told in a non-technical and convincing manner. This experience is supported by plenty of sound logic to prove that the time has come for America to abandon its unplanned, chaotic and inefficient social order for a planned, well-organized social system which would "begin with an objective capable of arousing enthusiasm—a war against poverty, unemployment, insecurity, an expansion of the standard of living, a great national effort toward a finer civilization."

So far, so good. But who is to carry on this new war against poverty? Who is to build the new world? Soule's answer demonstrates that despite his devastating criticism of liberalism in his brilliant chapter on "The dilemma of liberalism" he is still—a liberal. He declares that, "For the present, the idea is its own best weapon, to be cast forth and seized by any one who wants to wield it. The idea struggle will, at least in the immediate future, probably have more importance than the class struggle . . . We can count on the organizing disposition of mankind eventually to create economic order."

Here we have the typical appeal of the liberal to all groups regardless of their class interests to support an ideal or program because it is good.

It ought to be apparent to such a keen student of history as Mr. Soule that "the organizing disposition of mankind" is used with effectiveness by both sides in the class struggle. Mr. Hoover, the organizing engineer, for example, has been doing quite an effective job in recent years for the capitalist class.

Much organizing ability has been shown by the Fascists in various countries. American capitalists have displayed plenty of organizing ability in their wars on organized labor, and in broadcasting poisonous propaganda, such as that sent out by the power trust.

No, it is not simply to the "organizing disposition" of mankind that we must look for the establishment of social planning in America. It is rather to the organizing ability of the working class.

Social planning will never amount to anything in America until a class is in power that really wants to plan for the social good. As Soule himself states in his chapter on Russia, "Having laid out a policy, it is possible to begin to plan."

As long as capitalists own and control the industries and resources of the country it is utopian to expect that they will permit any other social group to determine how they shall be used and who will derive the benefits.

Therefore any realistic discussion of social planning must face the question, how can those elements of the population who want a planned economy run for the social good be organized so that they can get the power to put their program into effect?

Aside from a general statement in favor of labor unions, Soule gives us no definite indication of how he expects the planned social order to be established. That is the important question that must be settled by the workers and farmers of America before we will get very far toward the kind of a social order that Mr. Soule and many other liberals desire.

JOHN C. KENNEDY

'PROGRESSIVE' EDUCATION

Dare the School Build a New Social Order. By George S. Counts. No. 11, The John Day Pamphlet Series. 25 cents.

PROFESSOR COUNTS has applied the theory of historical materialism and of the class struggle to education in America, and in particular to so-called Progressive Education. To those familiar with Marxian Theory the pamphlet contains nothing fundamentally new, yet it is so pungently written and has such

drive in its message that it is well worth reading. To teachers who have been reared in a conventional view of history and economics it will sound revolutionary indeed, but it ought to be required reading for them!

The author rejects the favorite theory of "progressive" educators that the child must be permitted to develop from within and that there must be no "imposition" of standards and ideals upon him. "This," he says, "is the doctrine of laissez-faire, driven from the field of social and political theory, seeking refuge in the domain of pedagogy"—a just and significant observation. The same may be said of his characterization of the upper middle class people who send their children to Progressive schools, persons "who, in spite of all their good qualities, have no deep and abiding loyalties for which they would sacrifice over-much... and in the day of severe trial will follow the lead of the most powerful and respectable forces in society and at the same time find good reason for so doing. . . . At bottom they are romantic sentimentalists, but with a sharp eye on the main chance."

Professor Counts would have the teachers take their social responsibilities seriously and organize to set forth a vision of America including genuine democracy and an economic collectivism suitable to the needs of the machine age. He is not too sanguine that they will do so. He warns that we must soon choose between Fascism and what might be called Laborism. "The fact cannot be overemphasized that choice is no longer between individualism and collectivism. It is rather between two forms of collectivism. The one essentially democratic, the other feudal in spirit."

He strikes a note familiar to CPLA members and sympathizers when he pleads for the creation of "a tradition that has roots in American soil, is in harmony with the spirit of the age, recognizes the facts of industrialism, appeals to the most profound impulses of our people, and takes into account the emergence of a world society."

A. J. M.

The Labor Problem Defined

A teacher of English, in order to disprove the charge that American High School pupils know little about the really vital things that are going on around them, gave a test in which she asked for definitions of such terms as: tariff, reciprocity, the labor problem.

In the paper of a 15-year-old girl she found this:

"The labor problem is how to keep the working people happy without paying them enough to live on."

Co-operative Enterprises

What the Co-operative Movement has done in assisting relief work in strikes in other countries has already demonstrated its usefulness. The CPLA by its statement of purpose stands for "encouragement of genuine co-operative enterprises." The potential assistance a co-operative movement could give to the American workers and its limitations demand earnest consideration. To further such we reprint the rarely quoted findings of the First International on the matter:

"It is the business of the I.W.M.A. to combine and generalize the spontaneous movements of the working classes, but not to dictate or impose any doctrinary system whatever. The congress shall therefore proclaim no special system of co-operation, but limit itself to the enunciation of a few general principles.

(a) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show that the present pauperising and despotic system of the subordination of labor to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of the association of free and equal producers.

(b) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wage-slaves can elaborate it by their efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalistic society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free co-operative labor, general social changes are wanted, changes of the general condition of society, never to be realized save by the transfer of the organized forces of society, viz., the State power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.

(c) We recommend to the working men to embark in co-operative stores. The latter touch but the surface of the present economical system, the former attacks societies to convert one part of their joint income into a fund for propagating their principles by example as well as by precept, in other words by promoting the establishment of new co-operative fabrics as well as by teaching and preaching.

(e) In order to prevent co-operative societies from degenerating into ordinary middle-class joint-stock companies (*societes par action*) all workmen employed, whether shareholders or not, ought to share alike. As a mere temporary expedient, we are willing to allow shareholders a low rate of interest.

They Refused to Starve

When the large Central Committee of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment suddenly became aware of the consequences of the proposed closing of the Cook County Emergency Relief Stations within less than 72 hours, they decided to take some immediate action, writes Robert E. Asher in the current issue of *All Chicago*.

Their tactics were simply to arouse public sentiment immediately — to get newspaper space, time over the radio, telegrams and letters to senators and representatives. And the next day the Workers' Committee on Unemployment became front page news for practically every edition of every newspaper in the city.

"There is nothing remarkable about their refusal to starve," observes Mr. Asher. "But there is something decidedly remarkable about the way in which they organized to prevent starvation. No one who followed their course can doubt that real working-class leadership does exist."

The Workers' Committee on Unemployment has 21,000 members and is growing stronger every day," concludes Mr. Asher. "It has 33 locals in various sections of the city. It has a platform and a program. Though it has no funds and cannot furnish direct relief, it knows how to organize its members for action and for justice. Most important of all, however, it is developing solidarity and true working-class leadership in this crisis."

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Hungry Miners March In Charleston

(Continued from page 6)

once the demonstrators had returned home, the hunger marchers set up committees to constitute a permanent organization to function in a collective manner with the starvation problem. A general committee will oversee separate county committees; these committees have already functioned in the demonstration and have heard all the pros and cons of relief agencies. They have met the personnel of the state and county authorities. They will act as a clearing house for all the different relief problems that otherwise get lost in the maze of red tape and evasive action of county and state agents. They will call the unemployed together in the separate counties; they will conduct demonstrations; and the general committee was authorized to reassemble the hunger marchers in Charleston again when necessary.

They won something and that they know, but they also suffered. There were no beds in camp. Every man, woman and child slept on the river bank under the trees and crude shelters they made themselves out of river grass. The nights were cold. Bonfires kept burning to warm numb bodies between naps. There were no dishes or cooking utensils except those improvised from tin cans. Many an old ex-mountaineer dug back into his memory and again whittled wooden dishes, forks and spoons from a distant past habit. He carried them home with him too to place beside the mementos of the "Armed March," the "Bull Moose Death Train," and other milestones

that mark the history of his struggle for freedom. People got sick in the camp, of course, and in the end the strongest men among them were so changed from fatigue they appeared to have been through a war. But they stuck it out, they did not complain and they remained a solid mass until the end. They went home, as their own published statement said, "much wiser than when we came, realizing that not all of our trouble is over, but with a sure feeling that through organized action workers can get results—and we are resolved to stand by the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union which led us in our hunger march."

P. S. On June 13, the Monday following the demonstration, Kanawha County transferred forty thousand dollars from the county road fund to the poor relief fund to be used for unemployment relief. This action comes as a direct consequence of the hunger march and was one of the methods suggested by the committee from the hunger demonstration to Governor Conley whereby immediate relief could be provided.

Whither Bound Chile?

(Continued from Page 18)

to curb the power of the Chilean exploiters who rule America.

If the starving workers of Chile do carry through to its end the effort to establish socialism, it will be to the everlasting shame of the working-class in the United States if it fails to match their effort with effective assistance from our side. Now is the time to demonstrate against our imperialists who throttle the workers of South America and Chile. Now is the time to demonstrate against the high-handed interference of Washington (through our Ambassador to Chile) to prevent the socialization of Chilean natural resources. Now is the time to demonstrate against the next battleship cruise of a president-elect. Now is the time to demonstrate against the sacrifice of a single American life on the slopes of the Andes in the coming expedition to protect the Guggenheim investments. Now is the time to hail our Chilean comrades in their determination to establish the first socialist republic in the Western Hemisphere.

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We have written to a number of friends of **LABOR AGE** about these unemployed workers, urging them to subscribe for them. The response to this appeal has been good, but it must be better. There are still many who want **LABOR AGE**, who should get it, but to whom we cannot afford to send it free.

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